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Is Keeping Kosher in 21st. Century Dublin a Challenge for the Jewish Community?

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IS KEEPING KOSHER IN 21ST CENTURY DUBLIN A CHALLENGE FOR THE JEWISH COMMUNITY?

diarmuid s. murphy

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IS KEEPING KOSHER IN 21ST CENTURY DUBLIN A CHALLENGE FOR THE JEWISH COMMUNITY?

An investigation into the difficulties faced by the Dublin Jewish community in following the dietary laws and food practices required to remain observant at table.

Diarmuid Murphy

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for

B.A. (Hons) Culinary Arts.

Dublin Institute of Technology,

School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology

Cathal Brugha Street, Dublin 1

Submitted to:

Elizabeth Erraught

April, 2013

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Declaration

I certify that this dissertation, which I now submit for examination for the award of Bachelor's Degree in Culinary Arts is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

This dissertation was prepared according to the regulations of the Dublin Institute of Technology and has not been submitted in whole or part for an award in any other institute or university.

The institute has permission to keep, lend or to copy this dissertation in whole or in part, on condition that any such use of the material of the dissertation be duly acknowledged.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

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Abstract

The Jewish faith is the most ancient of the mono-theistic religions and is considered the first religion in the world that had a written set of rules. The canonical content of Jewish law (*Hallakah*) is contained in two places, the *Torah* and the *Talmud*. Both of these are the Jewish Holy Scriptures and contain the laws given to the prophet Moses on Mount Sinai. To non-Jews, perhaps the most well-known of Jewish laws are the strictures surrounding food and diet. These include *inter alia*, the non-consumption of pork and shellfish. These laws regarding food are in fact most ancient and concern not only the food itself and consumption thereof but also preparation, storage and service. This study focuses on the difficulties modern-day Jews face in Dublin whilst endeavouring to keep kosher. The main research question is:

Is keeping kosher in 21st century Dublin a challenge for the Jewish community?

The Jewish community in Dublin is not only a minority (less than 1,700 people) but is also in social science terms an invisible minority. When contrasted to the overwhelmingly Christian mainstream of Irish society where neither Catholic nor Protestant have any major strictures around food, this makes for a section of society that in food terms are left to fend for themselves in terms of provisioning. This study deals with the difficulties encountered by a shrinking community where the numbers required for critical-mass supply chain logistics are not present and examines the implications this has for the community trying to remain kosher.

Through a series of interviews and questionnaires, the Jewish community is examined and attitudes and opinions are sought in order to formulate the conclusions. The findings are in keeping with the original theory; that in short, the difficulties are very real and have an everyday impact on the food choices of those trying to remain observant at table. The challenges uncovered by the research are: cost of product, poor selection available, little availability and distances involved in making purchases. These continue to cause problems on a day to day basis for the community. The most influential factor affecting the community and its food habits is the size and numbers of those attempting to remain observant at table.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

This thesis is an investigation into the challenges and difficulties contemporary Dublin Jews encounter practicing the food habits and dietary laws required to remain observant.

This study has been carried out according to the Dublin Institute of Technology code of ethics. The findings will be of interest to students and professionals of the social sciences, gastronomy and to some extent religious studies.

Chapter one will provide:

- An overview of each section of the thesis,
- The background to research,
- The justification for research,
- The initial research question,
- The aims and objectives.

1.1 Background to research

The laws of *Kashrut* (kosher) form a crucial part of the belief system for Jewish people. To remain kosher is essential for the pious or observant Jew. The difficulties in keeping kosher in a non-Jewish majority setting are the basis of this research.

1.2 Justification for research

This thesis forms part of a Culinary Arts degree and the focus of this research has its basis in gastronomy which encompasses food and culture as its central themes. The sociological aspect of the discipline led the author to search for a food and culture based project. There is, in the author's opinion, very few sections of society that are so closely associated with their food habits as the Jewish community. This when

placed in an Irish context, which is largely one of Christian mono-cultural hegemony led the author to believe that this would be a worthwhile undertaking.

This study will have certain limits which are dictated by:

- The very strict qualification criterion of being Jewish to qualify.
- The relatively small Jewish population in Dublin currently.
- The willingness of the Dublin Jewish Community to open itself to academic scrutiny.

1.3 Initial research questions

- Research the history of the Jewish people
- Research the background of Jewish dietary laws
- Examine the history of Jews in Dublin
- Examine availability of kosher food in Dublin
- Examine difficulties and challenges in keeping kosher in 21st century Dublin
- What of the future?

1.4 Research aim

To investigate the difficulties contemporary Dublin Jews encounter practicing the food habits and dietary laws required to remain observant.

Is keeping kosher in 21st century Dublin a challenge for the Jewish community?

1.5 Research Objectives

1. Define what it is to be Jewish
2. Explore the role of food in Jewish practice
3. Investigate the nature of the Jewish community in modern-day Dublin
4. Ascertain the challenges faced by the Jewish community in Dublin with regard to food practices

1.6 Chapter Outlines

1.6.1 Chapter One – Introduction

Chapter one introduces the thesis and profiles each of the five chapters of the work. Chapter one also outlines the research background and the justification for the research, the initial research questions and aims and objectives.

1.6.2 Chapter Two – Literature Review

Chapter two reviews existing literature and published findings of academic works that pertain to the study. These include publications and websites dealing with religion, Jewish history, social history and the history of the Jewish diaspora. In addition, recent works detailing the Jewish experience in Ireland are used. These resources play an important part in relating the information required to answer the questions the thesis is attempting to address.

1.6.3 Chapter Three – Research Methodology

This chapter details the primary and secondary research methodologies used to complete the thesis research and outline the qualitative and quantitative research techniques used. The content of interviews and questionnaires are demonstrated here.

An outline of the secondary research is discussed and the style of research that suits the subject is profiled. The chosen methods to complete the empirical work are highlighted here.

A justification of the research methodologies used is provided.

1.6.4 Chapter Four – Data & Discussion

This chapter deals with the presentation of the findings of all the primary research. The detailed analysis and interpretation of findings of both questionnaires and interviews is shown here.

A sequence of graphs and pie charts is used as a visual interpretation.

1.6.5 Chapter Five – Conclusions and Recommendations

Chapter five examines the findings and compares and contrasts both secondary and primary research findings with established theory and highlights the results.

This chapter discusses the aims and objectives of the original questions and initial research queries. This concludes with any further recommendations for research and final conclusions.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is made up of a review of the academic works that have been used to conduct the study and focuses on Jewish religion, food, tradition, history and the spread of the Jewish people throughout Europe and to Ireland. This chapter also highlights the modern trends in the recent history of Ireland's Jewish community. The experience of the Jewish diaspora is explored and the availability of kosher food options in contemporary Ireland is examined.

2.1 The Mono-theistic Tradition

The mono-theistic religions are based on the concept of "one God" and the world's religions are dominated by the three religions that share the same root in the Middle-East. The belief in a "one God" developed with the Israelites between the 20th-19th centuries B.C.E., when according to Armstrong (1999), Yahweh (God) commanded Abraham to leave his abode and migrate to Caanan - modern day Israel, Palestine and Lebanon. Collectively, the three great mono-theistic religions are sometimes referred to as the "Children of Abraham."

"One God worshipped by Jews, Christians and Muslims." (Armstrong 1999, p.6).

2.1.1 Mono-Theistic belief in the Post-Modern Era

The post-modern era, 1950 C.E. to present day, has seen traditional belief much eroded. Indeed many claim no religion whatsoever whilst some speak of "A 'God-shaped hole' in their consciousness where he (God) used to be." Armstrong (1999, p.10). The atheist / agnostic / non-religious of the world account for 16% of its population. The top fifteen countries with the highest proportion of atheist / agnostic/non-religious are as follows:

1. Sweden
2. Vietnam
3. Denmark

4. Norway
5. Japan
6. Czech Republic
7. Finland
8. France
9. South Korea
10. Estonia
11. Germany
12. Russia
13. Hungary
14. Holland
15. Britain

(www.adherents.com).

It is apparent from the list above that the countries with the largest population of non-believers are in two categories:

- a) Countries in Scandinavia & Northern Europe
- b) Former & current communist states

The Scandinavian countries are closely associated with liberal attitudes to society, church and state and other northern European countries have a long history of ambivalence towards official religion. France has been officially secular since the declaration of the Republic on September 22nd 1792. Federal Germany, by contrast, has differing attitudes within the individual states. In Bavaria if an employee answers ‘Christian’ to a question regarding religious affiliation on an employment form, they are immediately subject to Kirchensteuer which is in effect a church maintenance tax.

The former and current communist states have been guided by Marxist principles which allow for no official approval of organised religion. Karl Marx (1844) was famously quoted as saying in 1844 “*religion.....it is the opium of the masses*” (www.marxists.org). Therefore most communist states have usually suppressed/oppressed organised religion, with the exception of the Polish communist state from 1945 and with the Cuban communist state 1959 to present day.

“Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion...” (Engels & Marx, 2012, p.59).

“This is the only radical revolution that hasn’t executed priests, shot them before a firing squad” (Castro, 2007, p.239).

Cuba and Poland allowed the Roman Catholic Church to operate. The Roman Catholic Church flourished in communist Poland and became less popular in communist Cuba.

The monotheistic faithful are as follows: Islam, Christianity and Judaism.

2.1.2 Islam

Islam is one of the world’s three great monotheistic religions, (along with Christianity and Judaism) and as such it shares many basic tenets of belief with these other two. All three traditions trace their beginnings back to one common ancestor - Abraham. Abraham is cited in the Hebrew bible as the ancestor of the Israelites; in the Christian gospels as the spiritual ancestor of the Christians and, according to Kung (2004) Islam’s holy book, the Qur’an, describes Abraham as the physical ancestor of the Arabs. Islam is also the world’s fastest growing religion, with approximately 1.5 billion adherents worldwide which is 21% of the world’s population. (www.adherents.com).

2.1.3 Christianity

Christianity started with the teaching ministry of Jesus Christ (0C.E.-30C.E.) who was a charismatic faith healer and a devout Jew. The most reliable history of The Christ was written in 70C.E. by St. Mark and is generally considered to be the most truthful of the synoptic gospels (Mark, Luke & John) as it was the first written. The central themes of this religion are suffering, penance, forgiveness and redemption. There is also an emphasis on peace and good works. There are an estimated 2.1 billion Christians throughout the world, which makes it the largest faith on the planet with 33% of the population professing one or the other of the Christian traditions (there are many sects and sub-sects of Christianity). (www.adherents.com).

2.1.4 Judaism

Judaism is the oldest of the three mono-theistic religions and can be traced back over 4000 years. The first mention of a single “God” comes from the 20th-19th century B.C.E. with Abraham, “...*the immediate ancestor of the Hebrew people and founder of the nation*” (Johnson, 1988, p.16). Furthermore, “*in Genesis he (Abraham) appears to inaugurate the special Hebrew relationship with a God who is sole and omnipotent.*” (Johnson, 1988, p.16). Judaism can claim approximately 14 million adherents worldwide representing 0.22% of the worlds’ population. (www.adherents.com).

2.2 Defining Judaism

Judaism, along with Christianity and Islam is one of the three great monotheistic religions of the world. Estimated to be 4000 years old, the religion began when Abraham received God’s covenant with the Jews. (Kittler & Sucher, 2004).

The Hebrews (Jews) were known in antiquity as Israelites (Pearsall, 2001) and were, according to tradition, led from Egypt and Pharaoh’s slavery into the wilderness - *The Exodus*, by Moses who received God’s laws *Mosaic law* and later to the promised land; geographically, modern-day Israel. This was an act of political separation and resistance and many believe a religious act. (Johnson, 1988). This act of separation from the poly-theistic worship of other nations is confirmed by Armstrong (1999) stating that Judaism had developed the idea of a “personal God” and also an “ethical conception of God”.

According to *Halakha* (Jewish law), a Jew must therefore, accept the covenant with God, (Armstrong, 1999) be born of a Jewish mother (matrilineal descent) (Kittler & Sucher, 2004; Weiner, 2012) or convert to Judaism according to Jewish law. (Weiner, 2012).

This definition is simply one of religious *nomenclature*; however in principle it has been shown that the definition of being Jewish is simply having a Jewish parent or parents, and being part of the wider Jewish community.

The dichotomous nature of Jewish identity is proved by the fact that whether a Jew practices and remains observant or not, it is other people's perception that will denote whether they are considered Jewish or not. This was shown clearly during The Holocaust when many secular and atheist Jews were sent to the death camps and work camps. The racial theories of Adolf Hitler ensured that Jewish heritage was central to this selection process and only people with very little Jewish blood survived selection.

2.3 Jewish Law

Ancient Jewish law is believed by the devout to have come directly from God, and the laws given to the Jews to have come through the prophets (Moses, Ezekiel, et al). As these laws come from God there is “...*no distinction between the religious and the secular - all are one - or between civil, criminal, and moral law.*” (Johnson, 1988, p.33).

2.3.1 Hallakah

Hallakah can be defined as “*Jewish law and jurisprudence, based on the Talmud.*” (Pearsall, J., (Ed.). 2001, p.827) or “*The legal framework of Jewish tradition*”. (Rivlin, 2011, p. 265). The Hallakah can be generally considered as ancient law that still evolves to suit the exigencies of the times.

2.3.2 The Torah

The Torah is the first five books of the Bible (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy) also known as the Mosaic books and the Pentateuch. (Johnson, 1988). Jews consider this to be a most holy text that cannot be added to or “...*diminish aught from it.*” (Johnson, 1988, p.89).

2.3.3 Rabbinical Law

Rabbinical law is the interpretation of Hallakah as written by scholars of Jewish Law. This is an evolving process and has many Rabbis learning and teaching at various

levels. The laws were codified by Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai at Jabneh (Modern day Israel) in the year 70 C.E.

2.4 List of Major Jewish Festivals

2.4.1 Shabbat (Sabbath)

Shabbat is the Jewish Sabbath. It falls on Friday from just before sunset until Saturday just after sunset. Similar to Christian Sabbath, it is considered a day of rest and a day for wearing good clothes. (In Christian households this would be “Sunday best”). Jewish Sabbath has a strict rule of no work, shopping, cooking or cleaning, which in practice means that all daily tasks must be completed before sunset on Friday. Commencing at sunset on Friday with the lighting of the ritual candles, the Sabbath lasts until one hour after sunset on Saturday in effect making a ‘day’ of twenty five hours. During the day the television and telephone are not used and the food eaten on the Sabbath is usually pre-prepared (*cholent*) and only re-heated on the day, to avoid breaking the stricture forbidding work. The traditional Sabbath starts with drinking wine and the day must include three meals one of which has to contain *Challah* which is traditional bread used on most Jewish high days. In most observant homes some family members of the family will have visited the Synagogue on Friday afternoon and if not then Saturday will be the day for the temple visit.

Observing the Sabbath is the Jewish method of keeping the fourth commandment: “*Thou shalt observe the Sabbath and keep it holy*” (Exodus 20: 1-17 & Deuteronomy 5: 4-20).

2.4.2 Purim

Purim is the joyous and celebratory holy day that some refer to as ‘Jewish Mardi Gras’. It is celebrated on the 14th or 15th of the Hebrew month of *Adar*, usually March in the secular calendar. Purim is taken from the book of Esther in the Hebrew bible, and is informally known as the story of Esther and Mordechai. It tells the biblical tale of the evil Haman who wanted to slaughter the Jews in Persia but was thwarted by Esther and her cousin Mordechai, who appealed to King Xerxes to save the Jews. He

responded by issuing an edict that the Jews could bear arms to defend themselves, thus saving them.

Purim is celebrated in the Synagogue and is occasioned by the faithful donning fancy dress and cheering and clapping every time Esther or Mordechai are mentioned and by booing and catcalling when Haman is mentioned. It is said that rabbinical law insist that adults should be a little drunk on the occasion, but it is unknown exactly how drunk is acceptable. (www.adherents.com).

2.4.3 Yom Kippur

Yom Kippur is the Day of Atonement, which is the most sacred day in the Jewish calendar. It falls on the tenth day of the seventh month in the Jewish calendar and like all Jewish holy days; it is a movable feast as the Jewish religious calendar is calculated on the *luni-solar* basis. This year, 2013, Yom Kippur will be on September 25th according to the Gregorian (western) calendar. The ancient reasoning for the date was a direct command from God to Moses “*The tenth day of the seventh month is the Day of Atonement*” (Leviticus 23, 26-28).

On Yom Kippur the faithful are forbidden the following:

- Food and drink for 25 hours
- The wearing of perfume
- Washing
- Sexual relations
- Wearing of leather shoes

The day is usually spent in the Synagogue where five services are conducted and it is considered a day that even non-religious Jews will wish to attend Synagogue. (www.adherents.com).

2.4.4 Rosh Hashanah

Rosh Hashanah is Jewish New Year, and according to the Bible (Numbers 29, 1) it falls on the first day of the seventh month. This is a time for considering the deeds of the year and to look forward to the next year. It is celebrated in the Synagogue but also in the home where *“It is a time of sweet foods”* and *“the feast traditionally begins with an apple dipped in honey.”* (Lawson, 2004, p. 357). Some Jews will even ban sour foods such as pickle in order to maintain the ‘sweet’ motif of Rosh Hashanah foodstuffs. (Lawson, 2004).

2.4.5 Chanukah

Chanukah is the ‘festival of lights’ and is usually celebrated in December around the same time as the Christian festival of Christmas. Lawson, (2004), says this temporal proximity to Christmas has led to the heightened importance for the festival as twentieth-century Jews (particularly in America) felt their children were losing out to all the celebrations of Christmas.

The festival itself celebrates the re-dedicating of the temple in Jerusalem after the Jews had driven away the Syrian Hellenists of King Antiochus. Upon liberating the temple, the Jews found one oil vessel still burning after eight days despite the vessel only having enough oil for one day, consequently the Jews venerate the oil by lighting oil-fired lights during the festival and by deep frying food (in oil) as an homage to the miracle of the oil.

2.4.6 Passover

This is the most important festival in the Jewish religious calendar, and even secular Jews and non-religious Jews will feel compelled to celebrate by attending *Seder* (the celebratory meal that commences Passover). It celebrates the liberation of the Children of Israel who were led out of Egypt by Moses. The story is documented in the Book of Exodus in the Bible. Pharaoh refused to release the Israelites from slavery and so God visited ten plagues upon the Egyptians. (Exodus 3:19-20). The plagues took varying forms (frogs, lice, locusts, boils) and did not affect the Israelites,

however the tenth and final plague was the death of the firstborn males. This plague involved God sending an avenging angel to go from house to house killing all firstborn males, however the Jews were issued a specific set of instructions by God which ensured their homes would be “passed over” by the avenging angel. The instructions were followed to the letter and involved *inter alia* the slaughter and consumption of a male lamb (with herbs and unleavened bread) and the brushing of the lamb’s blood on the door frame. All the instructions had to be carried out whilst dressed for a journey. The avenging angel duly arrived and slaughtered the firstborn males, excepting the Jews, who were then ordered out of Egypt by Pharaoh and were given silver and gold by the Egyptians to leave. The Jews brought the unleavened bread with them as a symbol of there not being time to let the bread prove before fleeing and to this day Passover is celebrated with unleavened bread. “*Unleavened bread – to symbolise the Jews having to flee Egypt without waiting for the bread to rise.*” (Lawson, 2004, p.174).

2.4.7 Tenth Tevet

This is a fast day that remembers the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II. It is a minor fast day and the only Jewish festival permitted to fall on Shabbat.

2.4.8 Yom Ha’ Shoah

Yom Ha’ Shoah is Holocaust Memorial Day in Israel especially, but also for Jews worldwide. This is the day when the Holocaust is recalled. It is celebrated on the 27th day of the Jewish month of Nissan, a date chosen to coincide with the anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising which commenced (by the secular western calendar) on the 19th of April 1943.

This was a rebellion against the Nazis in the Warsaw ghetto and a response to their policy of transportations which were in effect the shipments of Jews to the death camps and work camps.

According to La Guardia (2001) Yom Ha Shoah is celebrated by two minutes silence

and then the day is spent in solemn recollection of the victims and listening to the stories of the survivors, also the names of the fallen/missing will be read out. (www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/judaism)

2.5 Defining Jewish dietary laws and the meaning of “kosher”

Kashruth or keeping kosher,

“Involves compulsory rules for the slaughter of animals, and food restrictions including avoidance of pork and shellfish and refraining from mixing dairy and meat products.” (Albaba, 2011, p.259).

Therefore *kosher* meaning “permitted” or “ritually correct” is the term used to denote foods that are acceptable to Jewish dietary laws (*kashruth*). (Robuchon, 2007).

Kittler & Sucher (2004) tell us it is translated as “fit” by some authorities. There are many rules for the observant to follow such as: the non-consumption of pork, the non-consumption of flightless birds, the strictures surrounding eating fish without fins and a large number of other strictures concerning hind and fore quarters of cattle and the bar on animals that “*cheweth not the cud.*” (Leviticus 11, 7-8; Deuteronomy 14).

The draining of all blood from meat is also important as shown by the line, “*ye shall not eat flesh with its life that is; its blood.*” (Genesis 9; 33-34).

The slaughter of animals must be performed by a specialist Kosher butcher known as a *shocet*. (Rolland & Sherman *et al*, 2006). Some authorities use a different spelling, *Shobet*. All will agree however, that rabbinical tradition insists on the butcher being kosher. (Carson & Cerrito, 2003). Soler (1979) comments that some Jewish congregations differ in their application of the laws but all are always guided by the Mosaic laws.

Remaining Kosher is of extreme importance to Jews, (especially Orthodox Jews) and it is in their dietary habits and their food practices that Jews are most easily identified as a culture that differs from others. “*Few religions express themselves so emphatically with food*”. (Lawson, 2004, p.382).

This can be seen time and time again when Jewish religious practices are shown to involve ritual/symbolic/traditional foods, such as the *Challah*, or the use of unleavened bread at Passover or the consumption of sweet foods at Rosh Hashanah.

(Jewish New Year).

The strictures regarding the non-consumption of pork remain the most well-known dietary habit of the Jewish people, and to gentiles perhaps the most difficult to comprehend. The idea of the pig being ‘dirty’ is one that many believe to be at the root of the Jews non-use of porcine product. “*The proverbial dirty habits of the pig...go some way to accounting for the Jewish distaste for it.*” (Toussaint-Samat, 1987, p.424).

Even when Jewish people had to pretend to convert (*Conversos*) to avoid prejudice and slaughter, they found it impossible to eat pork.

“Some Jews “passed” for Christian by pretending to eat like Christians. They made a great show of cooking pork and sharing it with their neighbours; perhaps the neighbours were so overwhelmed by the generosity that they didn’t notice that the people who cooked the pork didn’t eat any themselves” (Civitello, 2004, p.93).

The adherence to the dietary laws required by religious stricture can be underpinned by more secular attitudes. “*Food is central to our sense of identity.*” (Fischler, 1988, p.275).

The full biblical lists of dietary strictures are as follows:

- To examine the marks in cattle (so as to distinguish the clean from the unclean) (Lev. 11:2).
- Not to eat the flesh of unclean beasts (Lev. 11:4).
- To examine the marks in fishes (so as to distinguish the clean from the unclean (Lev. 11:9).
- Not to eat unclean fish (Lev. 11:11).
- To examine the marks in fowl, so as to distinguish the clean from the unclean (Deut. 14:11).
- Not to eat unclean fowl (Lev. 11:13).
- To examine the marks in locusts, so as to distinguish the clean from the unclean (Lev. 11:21).
- Not to eat a worm found in fruit (Lev. 11:41).
- Not to eat of things that creep upon the earth (Lev. 11:41-42).
- Not to eat any vermin of the earth (Lev. 11:44).
- Not to eat things that swarm in the water (Lev. 11:43 and 46).
- Not to eat of winged insects (Deut. 14:19).

- Not to eat the flesh of a beast that is terefah (lit torn) (Ex. 22:30).
- Not to eat the flesh of a beast that died of itself (Deut. 14:21).
- To slay cattle, deer and fowl according to the laws of shechitah if their flesh is to be eaten (Deut. 12:21). ("as I have commanded" in this verse refers to the technique)
- Not to eat a limb removed from a living beast (Deut. 12:23).
- Not to slaughter an animal and its young on the same day (Lev. 22:28).
- Not to take the mother-bird with the young (Deut. 22:6).
- To set the mother-bird free when taking the nest (Deut. 22:6-7).
- Not to eat the flesh of an ox that was condemned to be stoned (Ex. 21:28).
- Not to boil meat with milk (Ex. 23:19).
- Not to eat flesh with milk (Ex. 34:26. (according to the Talmud, this passage is a distinct prohibition from the one in Ex. 23:19).
- Not to eat the flesh of the thigh-vein which shrank (Gen. 32:33).
- Not to eat chelev (tallow-fat) (Lev. 7:23).
- Not to eat blood (Lev. 7:26).
- To cover the blood of undomesticated animals (deer, etc.) and of fowl that have been killed (Lev. 17:13).
- Not to eat or drink like a glutton or a drunkard (not to rebel against father or mother) (Lev. 19:26; Deut. 21:20).

(www.jewfaq.org)

In practice, one of the most difficult aspects of keeping kosher is the necessity to keep two sets of cooking utensils and crockery and cutlery, one for 'milk' foods and one for 'meat foods'. This makes it very difficult in a domestic setting. The use of *pareve* (neutral) foods and equipment is offset by the need for separate storage facilities for meat and dairy items. (jewishvirtuallibrary.org)

2.6 The Diaspora

The diaspora is defined in two ways by the New Oxford Dictionary of English. The first says that the diaspora is

“Jews living outside Israel” or alternatively “The dispersion of the Jews beyond Israel” (Pearsall, 2001, p.510).

Furthermore,

“The Jews... fled their homeland of Judea for safety and scattered in the diaspora. The Jews were without a homeland for 2,000 years, until 1948, when the United Nations created the country of Israel in the old Jewish homeland”

(Civitello, 2004, p.49).

The diaspora was in effect a scattering of the Jews. It came in two major waves; both linked to the destruction of the Temple of Solomon. The first was in 586 B.C.E. with the occupation of Israel/Judea by King Nebuchadnezzar and his Babylonian army. (Zeitlin, 2012).

During the Roman occupation, the Jews were for the first time living in a multi-cultural society and one that was ruled by people with different religious and moral viewpoints. This led to the beginnings of a view of themselves as being ‘separate’ to other cultures

“Finding themselves in the regular company of foreign governors. Soldiers, and traders, Jews in their own land could imagine themselves in a kind of “exile”... Jews in Judea and its environs were constantly being challenged to reconsider the nature of their identities in relation to their new neighbours” (Kraemar, 2009, p.25).

The second wave of the diaspora was six centuries later when the Jews revolted against the Roman occupation and after four years of war were defeated (70 B.C.E.). The result of this defeat was the

“... destruction of the second temple and Jerusalem, and much of Judea. Once again, a large portion of the Jewish populace was forced into exile.” (Zeitlin, 2012, p.49).

Zeitlin further states that it was at this time the Romans gave the ancient land of Israel/Judea the new name of ‘Palestine’.

The Jews fled throughout the Mediterranean and at this time they maintained their individual culture by assuming; “...*the type of a ritualistically guest-people (pariah people)....Jewry did this voluntarily*” (Zeitlin, 2012, p.49).

The theme of separation from other cultures is a constant in the Jewish experience. To remain pious, it was necessary to preserve ritual and tradition and this was achieved by the Jewish populations of the diaspora remaining apart from the ‘host’ community.

“In exile, preserving the faith based on the Torah and the prophets meant not only following the ethical commandments but also remaining ritually pure by guarding against any and all polytheistic influences; slowly there emerged a distinctive, religious community...” (Zeitlin, 2012, p.48).

This separate nature of the Jews was carried into the migrations that followed and it is at this point that the two main Jewish traditions parted geographically. The *Ashkenazi* Jews settled for the most part in Eastern Europe, whilst the *Sephardic* Jews mostly settled in the Iberian peninsula and in a variety of trading ports scattered around the Mediterranean then under Roman rule. (Gwinn, 1993). These included *inter alia* Rome, Bari, Venice, Livorno, Marseille. These geographical limitations are not binding, however it has been said “*That the Alps and Pyrenees are the dividing line.*” (Roden 1996, p.15), with the Ashkenazi Jews to the North and the Sephardi Jews to the south’. Furthermore, “*The Ashkenazi culture is Northern European and Slavic, the Sephardi predominantly Mediterranean and Middle Eastern*” (Roden, 1996, p.15).

These two main branches of Jewry developed along parallel lines in different parts of the world and further evidence of the main differences between the two are underpinned once again. “*Whereas Jews in Christendom were mainly provincial, Jews in Islam were mostly urban, concentrated in ports and main cities.*” (Roden, 1996, pp.15-16).

In the Levant and near East, the ritualised separation that dietary laws and food habits gave the Jews were less obtrusive in society at large, as other cultures had similar habits. Particularly after the advent of Islam (610 C.E.) the presence of another monotheistic desert culture led to some similarities in food habits. “*Mohammed’s*

views on ...strict dietary laws-essential in a desert climate- were similar to Jewish practice.” (Gilbert, 2010, p.11).

The spread of the Jews to every part of the world has always been accompanied by the Jews themselves bringing their religious observances and ritual food habits with them. It is intrinsically bound up with Jewish-ness and Jewish self-perception, and the dietary laws serve to underline who and what the Jews are.

“Through their self-imposed separations, they constantly reminded themselves, their families and their neighbours who they were and to what community they belonged.” (Kraemar, 2009, p.121).

“The food of the ancient Hebrews has always been important to Jews, a wandering people who have used their ancient history and the continuity of their culture to define themselves”. (Roden, 1996, p.21).

By the time of the end of the Middle Ages, approximately 1500 C.E., most Jews were living in Christendom or under Islamic rule. Christendom constituted most of the European continent excepting the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal), the recently conquered Constantinople and the southern Balkans which were where Islam ruled.

The fortune of the Jews changed dramatically for the worse with the Christian defeat of the Moors (Islamic) in Spain. The defeat of the Moors led to the unification of Spain under the Christian monarchy of Ferdinand and Isabella. Aragon and Castile were united by the marriage of the two and Granada added to their Kingdoms by conquest. The Edict of Expulsion was enacted on March 31st 1492 and effectively all Jews (in fact all non-Christians) were compelled to leave Spain within three months. (Zeitlin, 2012). This law was eventually repealed in 1968.

The Jews continued to spread throughout Europe and brought their culture, beliefs and food with them, most of which have survived intact to this day.

2.6.1 Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism: “*Hostility to or prejudice against Jews.*” (Pearsall, 2001, p.73).

Anti-Semitism has existed since the earliest times and references to Jews being banished or expelled from European states can be found as far back as the reign of the Roman Emperor Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus.) It was during the first century that the Jews were expelled from Rome due to them ‘making disturbances’. “*He (Nero Claudius Caesar) banished from Rome all the Jews, who were continually making disturbances at the instigation of one Chrestus (Jesus Christ)*” (Suetonius & Thomson, 1997, p.228).

The Jews of the Diaspora found anti-Semitism and prejudice in both Christendom and in the Islamic lands. In the Islamic lands, it was customary for the Jews to adopt the title of *Dhimmi* which was a legally recognised status for non-Muslims, which entailed paying much higher taxes in return for the right to safely observe a religion other than Islam. (Johnson, 1988).

The Jewish community, upon being established in Christendom (mainland Europe), has been victim of many outbreaks of discrimination and this has led to further migration, within Europe and beyond, (Johnson, 1988). The land edicts in Eastern Europe by many Christian rulers (both secular and clerical) made it difficult for many Jews to own land, therefore commerce, trade and craftsmanship were seen as acceptable professions for many Jews. This in turn led to the continuing spread of the Jewish Diaspora.

The edicts that forbade land ownership led not only to Jewish people adopting trades, craft and commerce but also moving into the world of finance and this has caused much anti-Semitism over the centuries as it has cast the Jews in the archetype of ‘money-lenders’. The perception comes from the different biblical imperatives regarding the lending of money and the accrual of interest. The Jews are not allowed to charge interest to fellow-Jews but are allowed to charge interest to non-Jews. This contrasts with the Christian belief that interest should not be charged at all: “*Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon interest; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend on interest.*” (Deuteronomy 23:20).

“...and lend nothing hoping for nothing again.” (Luke 6:35-36).

The difference being Deuteronomy is from the Old Testament (written by Jews) and Luke is one of the four gospels in the New Testament (Christian).

The stereotype of the unpleasant Jewish money-lender gained widespread acceptance with the popularisation of William Shakespeare's *'Merchant of Venice'* which was a fictional story, but allegedly based on the 14th century trial of a Jew in Marseilles.

“Bondavid de Draguignan...was a real precursor of Shylock, whom Shakespeare immortalized two centuries later in *'The Merchant of Venice'*.” (Davies, 1996, p.416).

The anti-Semitism of the era was typified by the 'Blood Libel' which resurfaced numerous times during the Dark Ages and Middle Ages.

“The accusation would merge centuries later with the imagery of Jesus' blood and the notion of Jewish Deicide at Passover to create a superstitious brew known as the Blood libel- the belief that Jews sacrificed a Christian, usually a child, to mix the blood with the Passover bread” (La Guardia, 2001, p.46).

This accusation often preceded rioting against Jews and was spread widely. “*The Blood Libel spread to France, Spain, Germany and further East, often surfacing at the time of Easter and Passover*”. (La Guardia, 2001, p.46). Centuries later the blood libel was still being used to spread anti-Semitism. “*The Nazis used the blood libel in full force for their anti-Semitic propaganda*” (La Guardia, 2001, p.46).

The Jews had been subjected to prejudice and exclusion and outright hostility for hundreds of years in Europe.

“For many centuries, primitive Christian Europe had regarded the Jew as the 'Christ-killer': an enemy and a threat to be converted and so be 'saved', or to be killed; to be expelled, or to be put to death with sword and fire.”

(Gilbert, 1986, p.19).

As political systems developed and progressed, new ideas were introduced and political liberalism began to inform policy making.

“...the legal emancipation of Jews became a standard article of European liberalism, and was gradually introduced everywhere except for the Russian Empire”

(Davies, 1996, p.843).

It was in the Russian Empire that anti-Jewish laws were at their most harsh with many edicts and laws being introduced periodically to curtail Jewish freedoms. These

ranged from laws restricting right of residence to those which prevented Jews having certain jobs.

“A series of anti-Jewish decrees known as the ‘May Laws’ passed in 1882, closed off rural areas to Jews and curtailed their numbers in schools and universities, while Jews were driven out of the professions.” (La Guardia, 2001, p.68).

The majority of European Jewish communities had experienced prejudice or harassment of some kind such as being forced to live in ghettos by decree such as the *Ghetto Nuovo* in Venice, founded in 1509. Johnson (1988) claims that this was the first ghetto in Christendom, although the idea was not new and that many had existed in Islamic cities. Some Jewish communities in Europe were to be periodically confined to ghettos until the 1940’s.

The harsh anti-Jewish laws in Russia led to anti-Jewish sentiment culminating in a series of pogroms (violent anti-Jewish riots) in 1881-2, and this led to further migration.

“The pogroms of 1881-82 set in motion a vast movement of Jews seeking to escape poverty and discrimination.” (La Guardia, 2001, p.69).

Furthermore, by the end of the 19th century; *“A total of 2.75 million Jews are estimated to have migrated, mostly from Russia...the vast majority went to the United States”* (La Guardia, 2001, p.69).

Anti-Semitism continues in the modern day, but like all forms of discrimination in the liberal Western democracies, it is officially frowned upon and is illegal in many countries such as U.S.A., E.U. and former British colonies including Australia, Canada & New Zealand.

2.6.2 The Holocaust

“The systematic attempt to destroy all European Jewry.”

(Gilbert, 1986, p.19).

“The Nazis had mounted a systematic campaign to exterminate the Jews.”

(Reynolds, 2000, p.p.201-2).

The holocaust is the name given to the systematic murder of over six million Jews by the Nazis and their allies during the period 1933-1945, particularly during the global conflict of World War Two and specifically from 1941-45.

The Jews call this the *Shoah* (Calamity), and is remembered every year on Yom Ha’ Shoah by Jews all around the world.

The holocaust came about because of Adolf Hitler’s racial policies and the implementation of them by his Nazi regime. *“Hitler took a hierarchy of races for granted. He divided mankind...The Jews were the ‘Todfiend’, the mortal enemy.”* (Davies, 1996, pp.971-4).

The holocaust was in effect the mass extermination of Jews by industrial methods. The idea came from the German concept of ‘Final solution of the European Jewish question’ known in German as *“Die Endlosung.”* (Gilbert, 1986, p.152).

The idea was formalised at the Wannsee Conference held near Berlin on the 20th of January 1942 (Gilbert, 1986, p.p.280-7) and was the culmination of various branches of the Nazi administration’s collective efforts to streamline the mass-murder of the Jews. Most Jews murdered by the Nazis prior to this were gunshot victims. The Wannsee Conference was the moment that changed this and from then on most Jews murdered by the Nazis were killed in the gas chambers of one of the many work camps or death camps such as:

Auschwitz -Poland

Birkenau -Poland

Chelmno-Poland

Sobibor -Poland

Treblinka-Poland

Belzec -Poland

(Gilbert, 1986, p.p.280-7).

By the end of the regime, the final number of Jews murdered by the Nazis in this

manner reached over six million. *“By the time Nazi Germany had been defeated, as many as six million of Europe’s eight million Jews had been slaughtered”* (Gilbert, 1986, p.19).

This mass murder is unimaginable in the present day and the holocaust has been condemned universally. According to Fidel Castro,

“The crime of crimes: for thousands of years, humanity will remember the holocaust, the crimes at Auschwitz and other extermination camps, with horror and repugnance.” (Castro, 2007, p.392).

The work camps and death camps were also used for the mass extermination of other groups who were selected by the Nazis as they were deemed ‘undesirable’, these other groups consisted of homosexuals, gypsies, ‘mental defectives’ and political enemies of the Nazis. *“As well as the six million Jews who were murdered, more than ten million other non-combatants were killed by the Nazis.”* (Gilbert, 1986, p.824).

2.6.3 Jewish Historical timeline

c. 1800 B.C.E.	Abraham and Sarah begin the Journey to Judaism
c. 1250 B.C.E .	Moses leads Hebrews out of Egyptian bondage
c. 1000 B.C.E.	King David unites and grows the Kingdom
c. 950 B.C.E.	King Solomon builds First Temple in Jerusalem
722 B.C.E.	Assyrians destroy Northern Israelite Kingdom, disperse ten tribes
586 B.C.E.	Babylonians overthrow Southern Kingdom, destroy first Temple, take Judeans to Babylonia
428 B.C.E.	Second Temple dedicated by Ezra and Nehemiah
164 B.C.E.	Hasmonean revolt against Greek rule (celebrated by Chanukkah)
70	Second Temple destroyed by Romans
135	Bar Kochba rebellion
c. 200	Mishnah codified
c. 500	Babylonian Talmud codified
1492	Jews expelled from Spain
1880	Mass emigrations to America begin
1938	Kristallnacht begins Holocaust
1939-45	World War Two and Holocaust
1948	State of Israel declared

2.7 Modern Jewish Society

Modern Jewish society has changed somewhat since the end of World War Two (1945). The creation of the state of Israel (1948) has meant that the Jews have a homeland once again and that after two thousand years of exile, there is a country where Jews will not be discriminated against. The state of Israel came about when the United Nations agreed by majority vote to partition Palestine and create a Jewish homeland. There had been many Jews already living in the traditional biblical regions as a movement called Zionism grew. Zionism is a political belief that the Jews should return to the biblical homeland and had been spreading since the late 19th century. This spread became a mass movement at the end of the Second World War when the atrocities of the Nazi death camps left many Jews with the belief that only a Jewish state would be a safe haven for Jewish people. This belief took root. *“A Jewish homeland in Palestine would roll back two millennia of dispersion and persecution”* (Reynolds, 2000, p.76).

The creation of Israel led to immediate war with all of its Arab neighbours (Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt) and to further Jewish immigration. *“Jews flooded in – encouraged by the 1950 law of Return which promised citizenship for all members of the diaspora”* (Reynolds, 2000, p.79).

This however does not mean that all of the world’s Jews live in Israel. The global Jewish population is widespread with best current estimates placing the Jewish population at between 13-14 million, (www.jewfaq.org).

The places of residence are as follows:

U.S.A	5.75 million	Israel	5.75 million
France	670,000	United Kingdom	360,000
Russia	3-350,000	Latin America	400,000
Canada	350,000	Ireland	3-4,000

There are smaller communities elsewhere, but the communities above (except Ireland) are the significant centres. (www.jewfaq.org)

It is important to note that whilst Israel's right of return, known as the law of Return 1950, grants citizenship to all Jews who request it, not all Jews are Israeli and not all Israelis are Jews.

Israel is a Jewish state and as such kosher food is the norm rather than the exception.

Elsewhere, the larger Jewish populations have plenty of access to kosher food, particularly in the traditional Jewish population centres (London, Manchester, Paris, Marseille, Venice and Antwerp amongst others). As an indicator, a brief search the U.K.'s Jewish Chronicle newspaper listed over forty restaurants/caterers/venues either wholly kosher or with kosher capabilities in the greater London area alone. (www.thejc.com).

2.7.1 Modern Jewish food habits

The table habits of the modern Jews are dictated by availability. Where availability is not an issue then the Jewish food culture will be rich and varied. Modern Jewish food was described thus:

“Jewish cooking is not necessarily kosher food cooked according to ancient religious dietary laws, nor is it a new cuisine from the modern state of Israel. Rather it is a centuries-old cuisine with an international flavour that reflects the multi-national backgrounds of the Jewish people” (Bloch, 1989, p.3).

This is underpinned by Robuchon who states; “*Jewish cookery is closely linked to religious feast days and the Sabbath, but it incorporates culinary specialities from all the countries of the Diaspora.*” (Robuchon, 2007, p.638).

This tells us that whatever the location and the inherent supply-chain logistical problems of sourcing foodstuffs, the Jewish community will make the local produce work for it and develop a local and regional cuisine to suit their dietary laws: “*Tastes have been strongly influenced by the foods that are available in the region and the local recipes.*” (Robuchon, 2007, p. 638).

This leads to an ever adapting cuisine and a community which seeks to minimize the difficulties of remaining observant in situations where produce is unavailable.

In Israel where the threat of war is constant, kosher food is readily available. This reflects the central role food plays in the lives of observant Jews. It is a metaphor for ‘Jewishness’ a badge of honour, and outward sign of membership of the clan. “We have communication by way of food.” (Barthes, 1997, p.22).

“Like spoken language, the food system contains and conveys the culture of its practitioner; it is the repository of traditions and of collective identity.” (Massimo, 2004, p.133).

Ordinarily, no self-respecting and observant Jew would break the dietary laws where the produce was available, and where, in a war threatened state such as Israel no thought needs be given to the sourcing of kosher foods the converse applies in Ireland where to remain kosher takes time, effort and thought, yet there is no threat of war. “*The cooking of a society is a language in which it unconsciously translates its structure*” (Levi-Strauss, 1978, p.35).

This is extremely appropriate for the Jewish communities around the globe.

2.8. Dublin's Jewish Community

The Jewish population of Ireland was returned as 1,675 in the 2011 Census. (www.cso.ie). Aside from three or four families living in Cork city, the remainder of the community is based in Dublin. Other estimates place the Dublin community variously between 2,000-2,500. The Jewish community in Dublin is based mostly on the south side of the city, as are the remaining active Synagogues and the Irish-Jewish museum. There are Jewish graveyards on either side of the Liffey; one in Fairview and one in Dolphins Barn. (Harris, 2002, p.67).

2.8.1 Historical

The Jewish diaspora *Jews living outside the traditional Biblical lands* (Stevenson, 2010) have had a presence in Ireland for many centuries. Most recently it is said that Jews returned to Ireland in Cromwellian times after the expulsion of Jews from these islands in 1290. (Benson, 2007). The first were believed to be *Sephardim* from Spain. These were later followed by *Ashkenazi* in the 1880's fleeing the oppression of Tsarist Russia. The majority of Irish Jewry has a base in these roots and in the 1930's and 1940's the hub of Jewish Dublin was in and around Clanbrassil St and the South Circular Road. (Rivlin, 2011).

It was with the arrival of the more recent wave of *Ashkenazi* Jews that Dublin's Jewish community began to crystallize around the Clanbrassil St. The Jewish population jumped from 394 in 1881 to 1,506 in 1891. (Keogh, 1998, p.9). This would rise to a historical high of nearly 5,000 by 1946.

For many years, the Dublin Jewish community had a thriving network of shops and butchers and bakers, all selling a variety of goods needed by the Jewish community, including kosher foods. A list of Jewish businesses in the Clanbrassil Street area in the 1930's shows a large number of Jewish-owned food businesses including six butchers, six grocers, three poulterers and two milk suppliers. (See Appendix 1) These were specialist shops; however Jews could always eat fish. "*They used to buy their fish in the street from the dealers, they were fish mad.*" (Kearns 1998, p.70).

In addition, there were eight other (non-food) Jewish-owned businesses in the

immediate area. The area was known as 'little Jerusalem' for many years. (Harris, 2002, p.ix)

The Jewish community was bolstered by the arrival of a few hundred Jewish children in 1947, all of whom were refugees from central Europe and had lost their parents (or been separated from them by the war). This was achieved after a bout of wrangling between various government ministries and international aid agencies. The official policy of Ireland was a vague one; however internal governmental memoranda make it clear that the policy was one of preferring Catholic refugees. One memo stated "*The refugees are likely to be Polish, Hungarian and Austrian Catholics of the 'upper classes.'*" (Keogh, 1998, p.203).

2.8.2 Modern

Today's Dublin Jewish community is one in decline numerically, and has been for some time, with many migrating to either the U.S.A. or the U.K. or Israel. The reasons for the continuation of the Jewish migrations are many and the most commonly cited being the desire to "*...secure their Jewish identity...*" (Keogh, 1998, p.236).

Many of the older shops have closed down, with no-one to run them and indeed a smaller community to service, and many of the older people have died or emigrated. The main findings of a survey conducted in 1991 were that the population was an ageing one with over 25% of the Jewish community being over 65 in 1991. (Keogh, 1998, p.225).

The community has suffered from indecisive leadership at times, leading to dissent within regarding the best way forward and ambitious plans to merge two synagogues were riven by disagreement. (Rivlin, 2011, p.244).

"I think the community will continue to dwindle in the years ahead, but there will always be an orthodox Jewish presence here" (Harris, 2002, p.216).

The modern-day Jewish community in Dublin has moved up in the world, and the

community today generally occupies a well-educated and middle-class demographic. The most visible aspect of this upwardly mobile status is the fact that the Dublin Jewish community is now more localised in middle-class Terenure than around inner-city and working-class Clanbrassil St. *“Terenure, with its new Synagogue, thus replaced South Circular Road as the most important residential area for Dublin Jews”* (Keogh, 1998, p.227). He further alludes to the Jewish community opening their own golf club in Rathfarnham as being an indicator of ‘upward social mobility’. (Keogh, 1998). Thus in demographic terms, the Dublin Jewish community would be described as urban, educated and professional. In little over one hundred years, the Dublin Jewish community has evolved from immigrants fleeing the Tsarist oppressions to a comfortable, important, productive section of wider Dublin society.

See Appendix 2: List of prominent Irish Jews.

2.9 Jewish food in Dublin

The availability of kosher food in Dublin is poor. The community relies on a kosher butcher travelling to Ireland every fortnight to ritually prepare meat for the Irish market. The surplus is exported to France and the U.K. (Rivlin, 2011).

The bread supply is somewhat better with Bretzel’s Bakery regaining the accreditation necessary in 2003 after its revocation in 1997, and in 2006 Irish Pride bakery converted its entire plant to kosher production. (Rivlin, 2011).

It is possible to buy some products in Supervalu on Lower Churchtown Rd. and there is also a kosher shelf in the Tesco at the Nutgrove Shopping Centre. (Benson, 2007). In addition to this, more recently Fallon & Byrne in Dublin 2 and the South Africa Food Store in Dublin 1 stock a small selection of kosher goods.

“Kosher shopping in Ireland was always an expensive option” (Rivlin, 2011, p.244).

There are a number of websites offering kosher food. These seem to be aimed at the travelling public. They operate by providing breakfast, lunch & dinner in take-away containers which are stored and the traveller has them re-heated by the kitchen of whichever hotel he/she is staying in.

Harris states unequivocally, “*We don’t even have - and in fact have never had - a kosher restaurant*” (Harris, 2002, p.214).

It would appear to be quite difficult for a solitary traveller to remain observant at table in 21st century Dublin. The problems faced by a family with children in trying to remain kosher must be even more torturous. The obstacles to be faced in the search for kosher food are not insurmountable. The focus of this work is to investigate the difficulties contemporary Dublin Jews encounter practicing the food habits and dietary laws required to remain observant, and further to answer the question;

Is keeping kosher in 21st century Dublin a challenge for the Jewish community?

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodologies used in this research, including primary and secondary research carried out qualitatively and quantitatively.

Research can be defined as, “*the systematic investigation into and study of materials and sources in order to establish facts and reach new conclusions.*” (Pearsall, 2001, p.1577).

3.1 Research Aim

The aim of this research is to investigate the difficulties contemporary Dublin Jews encounter practicing the food habits and dietary laws required to remain observant. This is the core question of the thesis. In addition, this research seeks to answer any further anomalous questions that were raised by the secondary research in chapter two.

3.2 Research Objectives

The objective of this research is to achieve the following:

5. Define what it is to be Jewish.
6. Explore the role of food in Jewish practice.
7. Investigate the nature of the Jewish community in modern-day Dublin.
8. Ascertain the challenges faced by the Jewish community in Dublin with regard to Jewish food practices
9. Form conclusions regarding the above points.

The research question was finalised as:

Is keeping kosher in 21st century Dublin a challenge for the Jewish community?

3.3 Research Methodology

“Natural science has traditionally concentrated on ‘hard’ quantitative analysis” (Walliman, 2001, p.227). Furthermore, it has been asserted that quantitative analysis was, *“adopted by the human sciences until its shortcomings became evident...When appropriate a mixture of quantitative and qualitative research is possible.”* (Walliman, 2001, p.227).

“The methods used by qualitative researchers exemplify a common belief that they can provide a ‘deeper’ understanding of social phenomena.” (Silverman, 2000, p.8).

It was decided to utilise qualitative and quantitative research as both disciplines lend themselves to this kind study.

The secondary research was completed using a large number of published works to gain information which in turn fed into the literature review and formed the body of research outcomes found there. Kinnear & Taylor (1996) suggest that secondary data can be used to compare primary research against for comparative purposes.

Primary research was completed using a combination of interviews and a questionnaire.

Interviews were chosen as a research tool because *“...talking to people and seeing them behave and act within their context is a major characteristic of qualitative research.”* (Creswell, 2007, p.37).

3.3.1 Primary Research

The Dublin Jewish community is a small and vibrant grouping which has existed in harmony in Ireland for over a century. Despite this, the geo-political tensions of Middle-Eastern diplomacy have left nearly all Jewish communities around the world more security-conscious than ever. This can be seen particularly with the Dublin Jewish Progressive Congregation. On the website of that community, there is a clear statement asking any visitors to the Synagogue to provide identification for ‘security purposes’. It was against this security-minded backdrop that the primary research was conducted. One interview was carried out within the Israeli embassy, which was

subject to many strictures and conditions, one of which was to forbid the use of electronic recording devices. This interview was also subject to an extremely high level of security with the author made very welcome but put through rigorous security protocols.

Primary research was carried out using two methods, namely questionnaires and interviews, both personal and by phone. These were chosen primarily for the range of data that these methods can elicit when used in conjunction with each other.

As this study is one of a clearly defined group (Jewish people), it was decided to use techniques suited to researching ethno-graphics. *“Ethnography...it’s the process of collecting descriptive data about a culture.”* (Bernard, 2010, p.310).

Ethnographical research has a number of distinctive points amongst which are:

- The study will be observational
- Will include interviews
- Will include reading documents
- Will include study of behaviour
- The researcher will participate

It is a research that is based on a ‘common point uniting a group which you wish to study’.

3.3.2 Secondary Research

The secondary research is represented by chapter two, the literature review. This review was completed using a variety of published materials that pertained directly to the subject matter either by providing:

- Historical information of the Jewish people.
- Dietary and food information with regard to Jewish food habits.
- General background information informing current perceptions.
- Religious, cultural and political information necessary to form the conclusions.

The sources used were published books, essays and websites that specialised in this field. Using these resources, it was possible to produce an in-depth historical overview of the subject and to form a critical evaluation of the secondary research, which then led to the basis for the primary research.

“Exploratory research begins with a review of secondary data such as published or syndicated data.” (Churchill, Iacobucci, 2010, p.30).

“Research is supposed to give us a better understanding of what people are like.” (Reaves, 1992, p.277).

Using these methods has led to an understanding of the complex subject matter.

3.4 Questionnaire Design and Structure

“A questionnaire should be designed to collect information which can be used subsequently as data for analysis.” (Denscombe, 2010, p.155).

The questionnaire was divided into three main areas as follows:

1. General questions about the respondents’ demographic.
2. Questions relating to religion and food practices and availability of product.
3. Questions dealing with future developments and passing on of tradition.

The questionnaire included some yes/no questions and some other closed questions and several that asked the respondent to ‘please state’. In addition, there were several multiple choice questions. Finally, a number of open questions were included to allow more in-depth responses if they were forthcoming. These methods were chosen to try to gain background data and some personal opinions. *“Each question also has a covert function: to motivate the respondent to continue to co-operate.”* (Oppenheim, 1992, p.121).

The questionnaires were distributed in three ways:

- Through the JRCI (Jewish Representative Council of Ireland). These were targeted at the established Jewish community that has deep roots in Dublin and for the most part have been here for a number of generations.

- Through a network of acquaintances who have connections within a younger cohort of Jewish families some of whom are not Irish.
- Through the good offices of the Israeli embassy. These are mostly Israeli Jews living in Dublin and employed at the Israeli embassy.

The Jewish community in Dublin is not large and it was felt that these three approaches would deliver the best possible mix of the community, taking in to account religious or secular, young or old married or single Irish or non-Irish.

See Appendix 3: Survey Questionnaire

3.5 Interviews

“Standardised schedule interview, this is useful when the people being interviewed are homogeneous and tend to share the same characteristics and outlooks.” (Kane, 1985, p.63).

The interviews were conducted over the space of a few days in late February and early March 2013. When, at the outset of this study, the author made initial contact with senior figures within the Dublin Jewish community, it was made clear that the community as a whole were not usually overly receptive to research of this kind and interviews and questionnaires were a matter for the individual not the wider community. With this in mind, the interviews were structured to be as relaxing for the interviewees as possible and conducted in quiet yet public places. The locations for the interviews were chosen to suit the interviewees and were for the most part in the lobbies of large Dublin hotels, or by telephone where requested. In one case an interview was conducted in the Israeli embassy.

Apart from one interview held in the Israeli embassy which was not recorded due to security protocols, the interview sessions were recorded using Sony IC Recorder Model # ICD- PX312/PX312F.

Oppenheim (1992) observes that there are two types of interviews:

- a) *Exploratory interviews*
- b) *Standardised interviews*

He further states that the purpose of standardised interviews is essentially data collection.

Oppenheim also underlines the need for the interviewer to establish a ‘rapport’ with the respondent. This is described as an “*elusive quality*” which “*keeps the respondent motivated and interested in answering the questions truthfully.*” (Oppenheim, 1992, p.89).

The interviews contained open and closed questions and where possible interviewees were allowed to speak as much as possible and freely in order that more data could be collected, and to ensure that the interviewee made their point in answering the questions. On occasion the interviewer changed the wording of a question and the sequence in order to facilitate a natural flow of conversation. All respondents were offered anonymity for the interviews, in practice only two interviewees declined.

3.6. Data Analysis

Quantitative and qualitative analysis methods were used in order to provide suitable results and findings for each style of research.

3.6.1 Quantitative Analysis

During the design of the primary research, the question of quantitative data analysis was given consideration and it was decided to use Microsoft Excel instead of SPSS computer programme (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).

Excel provided the results for the quantitative element of the research by providing graphs and tables and cross-tabulation of variables within the questionnaire. The questionnaire responses were coded and the data was transferred to the computer programme allowing the data to be quantified and further transferred to graphs.

3.6.2 Qualitative Analysis

A content analysis system was used to probe the interview transcripts for detail that ordinarily might not be apparent.

“Content analysis is any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages.” (Holsti, 1968, in <http://depts.washington.edu/uwmcnair/chapter11.content.analysis.pdf>).

The responses to open-ended questions were analysed independently using the content analysis methods described above.

It has been suggested that any student undertaking research should ask themselves the question: *“Is this theory consistent with other observations that I have already made or ‘facts’ that I am aware of?”* (Levin, 2011, p.54)

3.7 Research Administration

- The research for the literature review was on-going from late October 2012 until late January 2013.
- Primary research began in late January early February 2013.
- Questionnaires were distributed in mid February 2013, and subsequently collected in late February 2013.
- Interviews commenced in late February 2013 and were completed in early March 2013.
- Results were compiled, sorted and analysed from March 5th – March 15th 2013.

3.8 Conclusion

The main focus of chapter three was to outline the various methodologies used in gathering the requisite data to complete the project (thesis). This covered both primary and secondary research. Questionnaires were used primarily for quantitative research measurements with qualitative questions included also. This was backed-up by interviews which consisted of open-ended questions and scheduled interview questions.

At an early stage in the research process, the author was fortunate to gain access to several senior figures within the Dublin Jewish community. These included:

- Rabbi Zalman Lent, Chief Rabbi of Ireland's Orthodox Jewish community
- Mr. Maurice Cohen, Chairman of the JRCI (Jewish Representative Council of Ireland)

These two men between them represent the religious and secular aspects of Irish Jewry and therefore it could be argued that these are the two most important people within that community. Mr Cohen spoke at length on a personal basis and also answered questions in his capacity as spokesman for the JRCI.

The various methods used have been chosen with the reliability of the methodology taken into account, and were chosen for the suitability of the research questions.

The chapter following will consist of the results of all collected research data, both primary and secondary and include a discussion of the key issues that were highlighted during the content analysis of the interviews.

Chapter 4: Data & Discussion

4.1. Introduction

This chapter consists of the presentation of data which was gathered through primary research consisting of

- 1.) Questionnaires.
- 2.) Interviews.

The questionnaires were made up of mainly closed questions with some open-ended questions included to encourage a more in-depth response. The closed questions form the basis of the statistical analysis which will be represented by appropriate charts and graphs to aid interpretation. Open question response rates will be examined statistically but, the content of the answers to the open questions are also included in qualitative interpretation to show a deeper picture than statistics alone can show and shall be analysed in conjunction with the interviews by means of content analysis.

4.2. Questionnaires

50 questionnaires were distributed. A screening question was used, “*Are you Jewish?*” All respondents answered “*Yes*” to this question making them valid participants.

4.2.1 Questionnaire Response Rate

23 valid completed questionnaires were collected representing a 46% completion rate.

23 completed responses represent approximately 1.37% of the entire community based on the 2011 Census. (www.cso.ie).

This is a valid rate of return for ethnographic research purposes.

4.2.2 Questionnaire Results

4.2.2.1 Gender

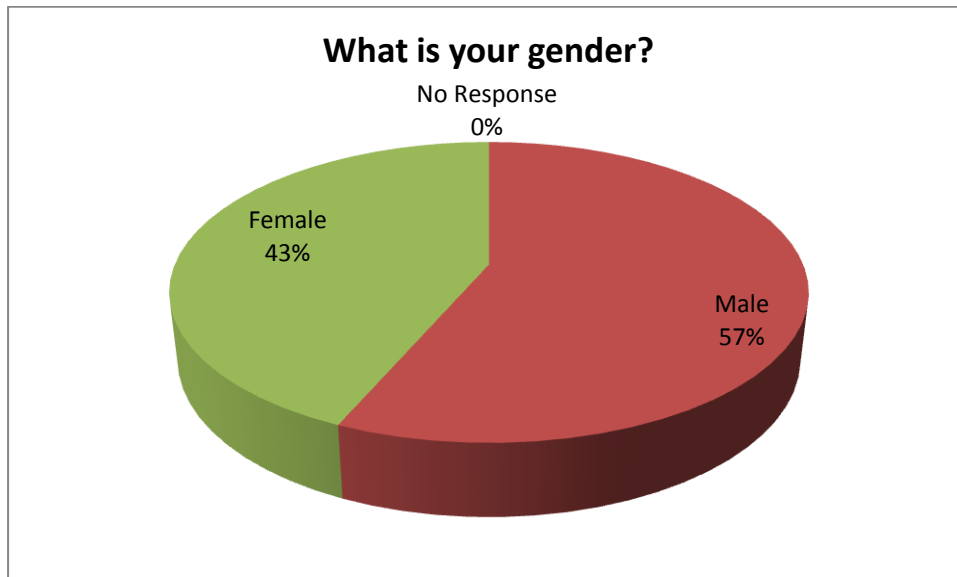


Fig. 1 Gender

57% of the respondents were male

43% were female

This is a valid breakdown for survey purposes.

4.2.2.2 Place of Residence

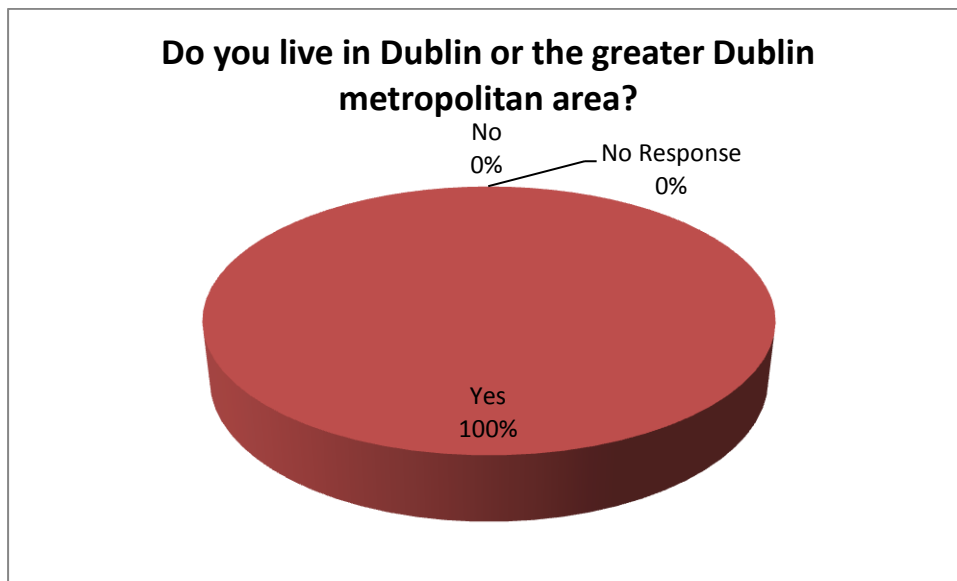


Fig. 2 Place of Residence

100% of respondents live in the Dublin or the greater Dublin metropolitan area. This is a secondary screening question necessary to be counted as valid participants.

4.2.2.3 Nationality

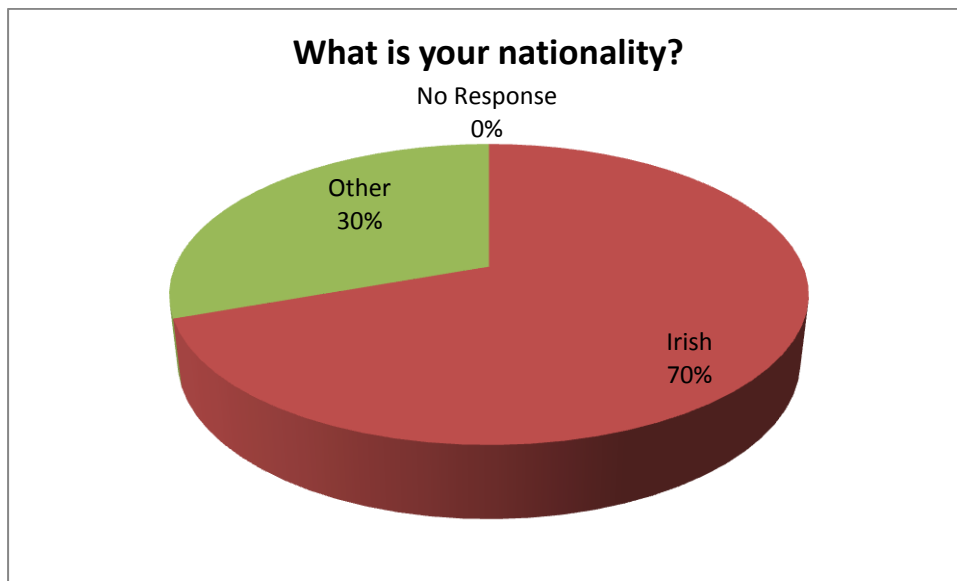


Fig. 3 Nationality

70% of respondents confirmed Irish nationality.

30% of respondents confirmed other nationalities.

Further analysis showed that of the 30% “other” nationalities:

85.71% were Israeli.

And 14.29% were British.

4.2.2.4 Place of birth



Fig. 4 Place of birth

70% of respondents were born in Ireland.

4% of respondents were born in the U.K.

26% of respondents were born in Israel.

These figures underpin the findings of the question on nationality, with Israel being the only significant non-Irish place of birth along with the U.K.

4.2.2.5 Employment Status

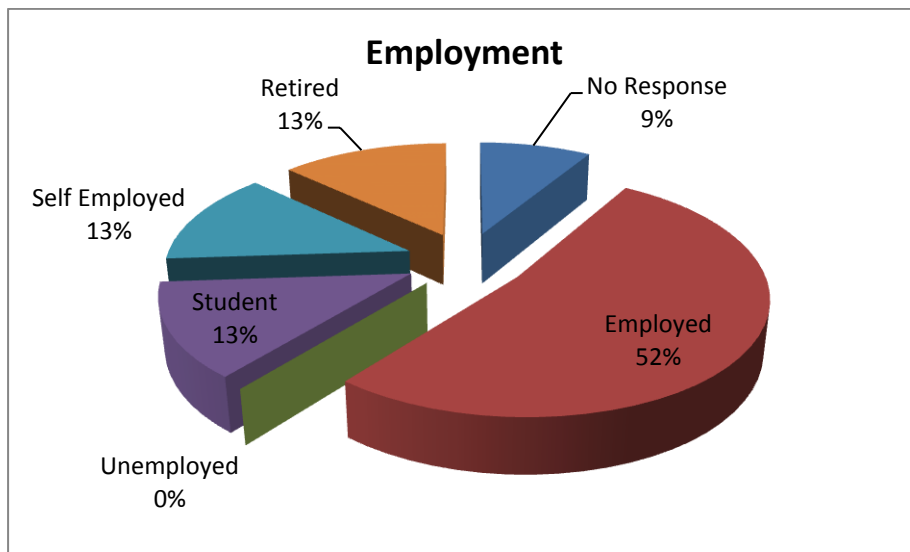


Fig. 5(a) Employment status.

52% of respondents are employed.

13% of respondents are self-employed.

13% of respondents are students.

13% of respondents are retired.

9% did not respond to this question.

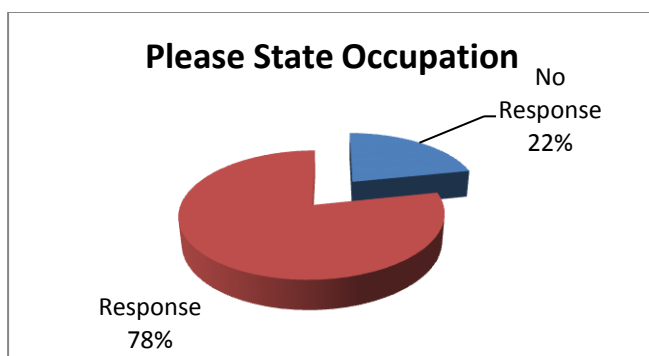


Fig. 5(b) Employment Status

In an attempt to obtain further information, an open question was added to state occupation. This resulted in a 78% response rate with 22% declining to respond.

This question gave a great deal of information regarding the demographic of the group. Most of the group were either working for themselves or were in a profession. Zero % are unemployed being recorded in the group. The students within the group are all studying at third-level either full-time or part-time whilst also in employment.

The list of professions identified in the questionnaires included: doctor, diplomat, bank official and a teacher.

This data points irrefutably towards an ABC1 socio-economic group, which can be classed as well-educated, financially comfortable and having a good discretionary income.

In the wider context of the study, these findings are essential in establishing the demographic of the study subjects.

See Appendix 6: Frequency of Results

4.2.2.6 Age Group

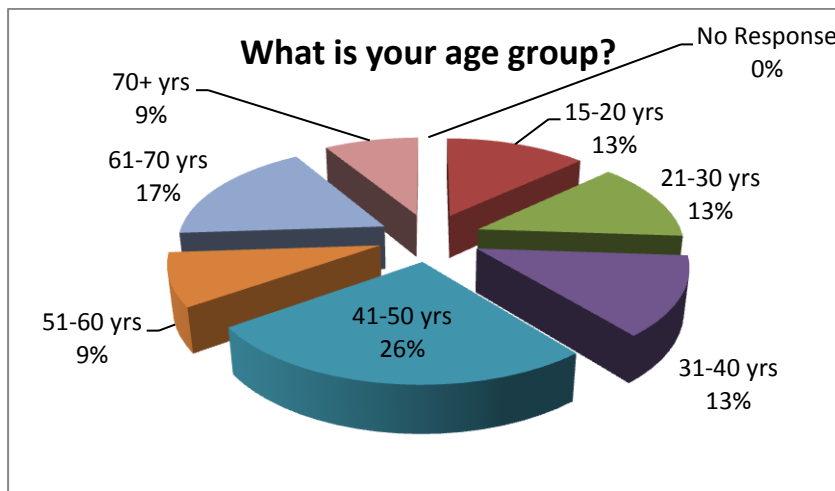


Fig. 6 Age Group

From largest to smallest:

26 % of respondents are between 41-50 years

17% of respondents are between 61-70 years

13% of respondents are between 21-30 years

13% of respondents are between 31-40 years

13% of respondents are between 15-20 years

9% of respondents are between 51-60 years

9% of respondents are 70+ years.

These results show that the average age of the group is not young, with 61% of the subjects being over 40 and 35% being over 50. Further analysis shows, when non-Irish respondents are removed this number rises slightly to 62.5% over 40. The figure for over 50 then rises to 43.75%. From context, it is the author's opinion that the community is primarily 60+ in age.

4.2.2.7 Household Type

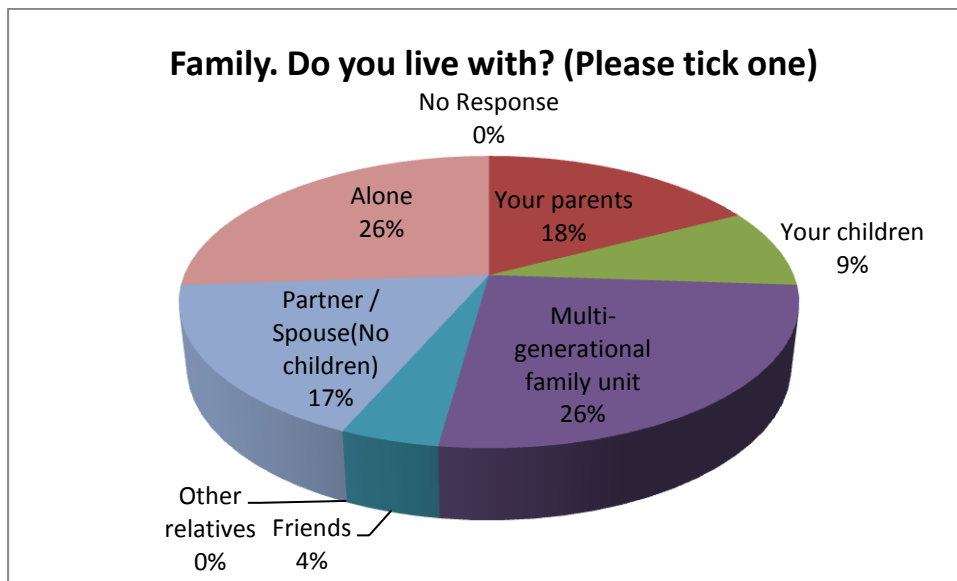


Fig. 7 Household Type

26% of respondents live in multi-generational family units.

26% of respondents live alone.

18% of respondents live with their parents.

17% of respondents live with their partner/spouse (no children).

9% of respondents live with their children.

4% of respondents live with friends.

These figures confirm for the most part the family-centred emphasis of Jewish life, with 70% of respondents living with family of some kind. Of the 26% respondents who live alone, 33% are young but the remaining 66% fall into the older age brackets such as 70+ (33%) 60+ (16.5%) and 50+ (16.5%). This raises the possibility of this section representing a cohort whose children have left home.

4.2.2.8 Religion

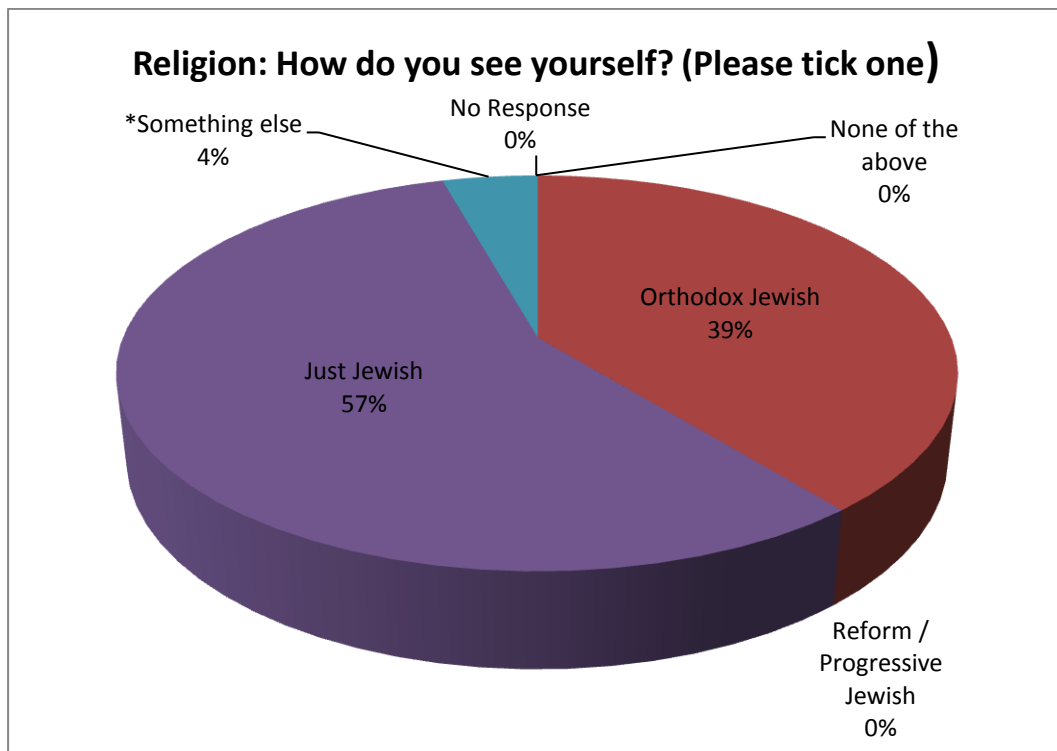


Fig. 8 Religion

57% of respondents see themselves as ‘Just Jewish’.

39% of respondents see themselves as Orthodox Jewish.

4% of respondents see themselves as ‘something else’*

*If “something else”, please state: - “Mal-Practicing Orthodox”

These figures show the overwhelming fact that zero % responded as reform/progressive. This fact is further amplified by the relatively high numbers declaring themselves as Orthodox. The Dublin Jewish community is largely Orthodox and to reflect the fact in the statistics is not an isolated phenomenon. Another revealing statistic is the fact that all of the respondents who gave non-Irish as their nationality all identified as ‘Just Jewish’. These sets of statistics reflect the realities of the community dynamic with 63% of Irish-born Jews self-identifying as Orthodox.

4.2.2.9 Importance attached to being Jewish

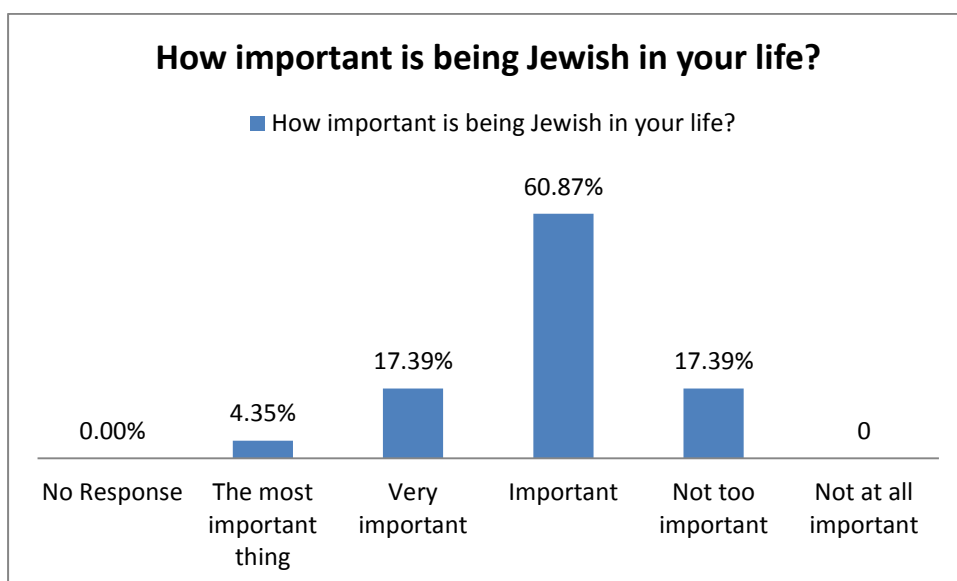


Fig. 9 Importance attached to being Jewish

60.87% of respondents said being Jewish is important.

17.39% of respondents said being Jewish is very important

17.39% of respondents said being Jewish is not too important.

4.35% of respondents said being Jewish is the most important thing.

These statistics show that being Jewish is an important aspect in most of the community's lives. No-one answered 'not at all important' to the question. Only 17.39% said it was not too important.

Further analysis shows that while 62% of Irish respondents say that being Jewish is important, this figure dropped to 57% for foreign born Jews.

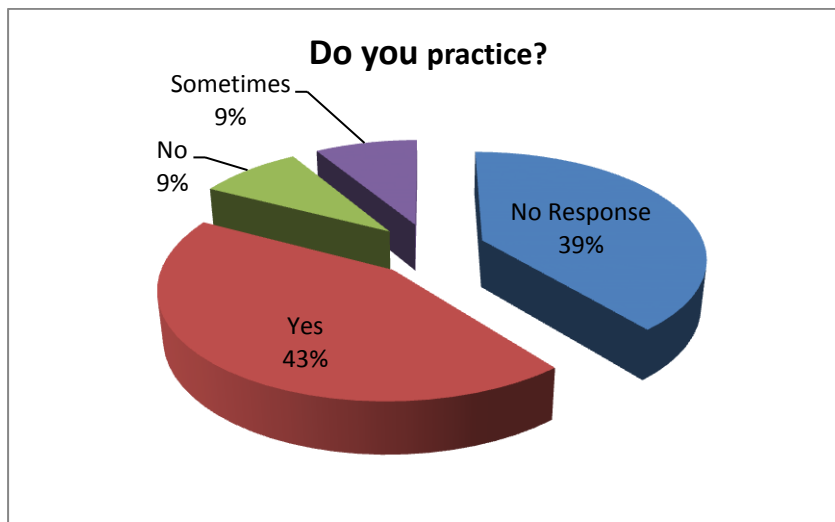


Fig. 9 (b) Do you practice?

When asked if they practice,

43% of respondents said yes.

9% of respondents said sometimes

9% of respondents said no.

39% did not respond to this question.

The second part of this question was asked as an open question and 61% responded. Although the option for free text was available, those who responded only used the following three words to answer: “yes”, “no” and “sometimes”.

Of those who responded, 71.42% said they did practice.

14.29% said they did not practice.

14.29% said they practiced sometimes.

4.2.2.10 Most important aspect of Jewishness

(Response rate analysis only)

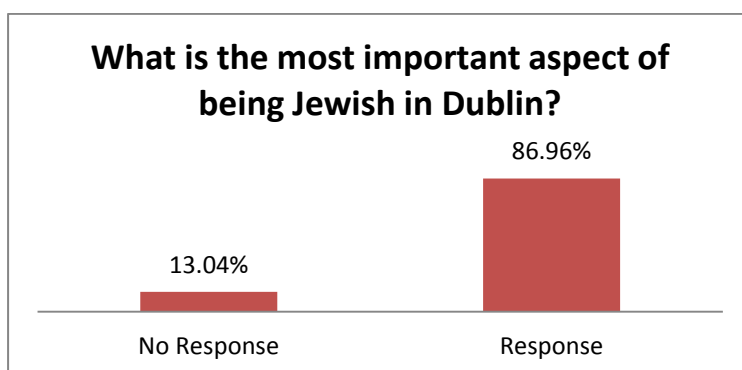


Fig. 10 Most important aspect of Jewishness

Response rate analysis only.

86.96% responded.

13.04% did not respond to this question.

This was asked as an open question and is further dealt with in Section 4.4 content analysis. (See page 72).

4.2.2.11 Challenges

(Response rate analysis only)

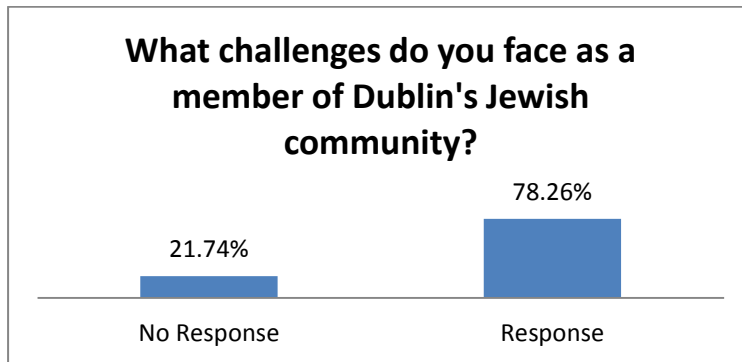


Fig. 11 Challenges.

Response rate analysis only.

78.26% responded

21.74% did not respond to this question.

This was asked as an open question and is further dealt with in Section 4.4 content analysis. (See page 72).

4.2.2.12 Importance of Food

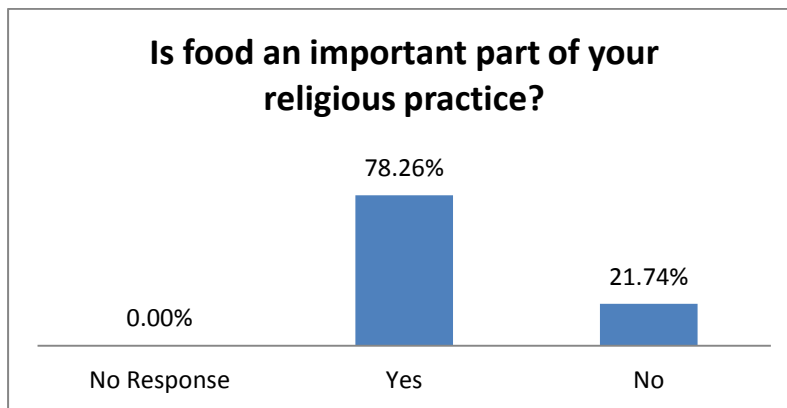


Fig. 12 Importance of Food

78.26% of respondents said that food was an important part of their religious practice.

21.74% of respondents said that food was not an important part of their religious practice.

Further analysis shows that 81.25% of Irish Jews say that food is important in their practice. This contrasts with 66.6% of Israeli respondents saying the same thing. This can possibly be ascribed to the theory that the Irish Jews see their food practices as a 'cultural identifier' whereas the Israelis have no such need to outwardly 'identify' in any cultural manner as Israel is a Jewish state.

4.2.2.13 Important food practices

(Response rate analysis only)

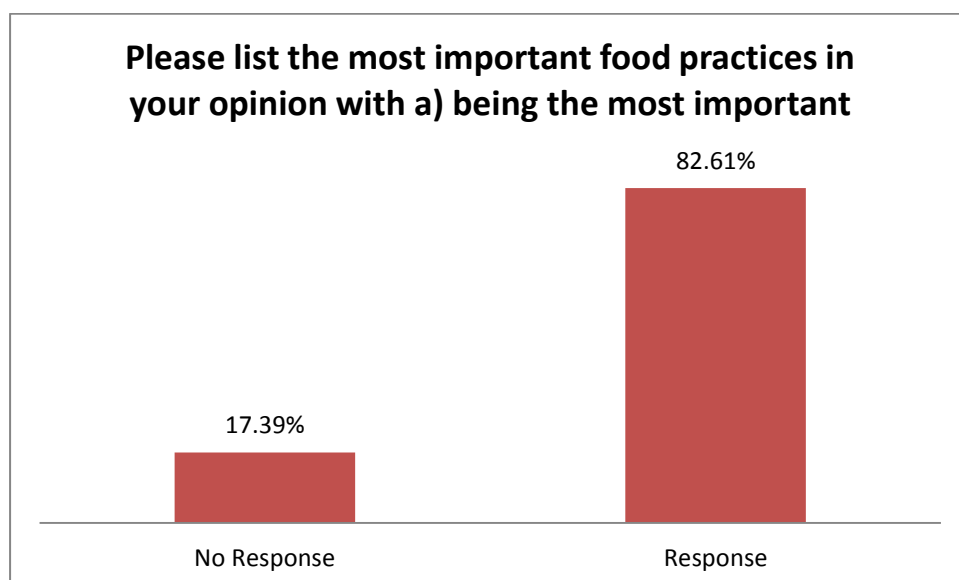


Fig. 13 Important food practices

Response rate analysis only

82.61% of respondents answered this question.

17.39 % did not answer this question.

This was asked as an open question and is further dealt with in Section 4.4 content analysis. (See page 72).

4.2.2.14 Cooking at home

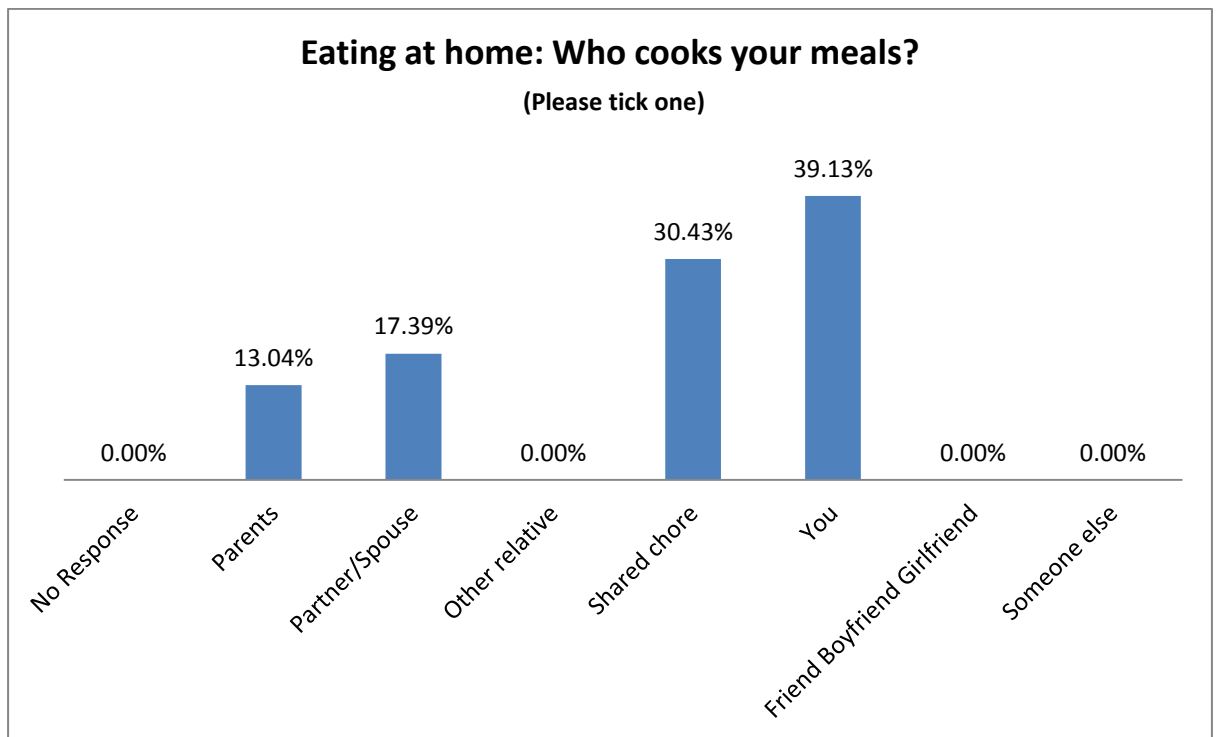


Fig. 14 Cooking at home

39.13% of respondents cook for themselves.

30.43% of respondents say that cooking is a 'shared chore'.

17.39% of respondents say that their foods are cooked by partner/spouse.

13.04% of respondents say that their parents cook for them.

4.2.2.15 Keeping Kosher

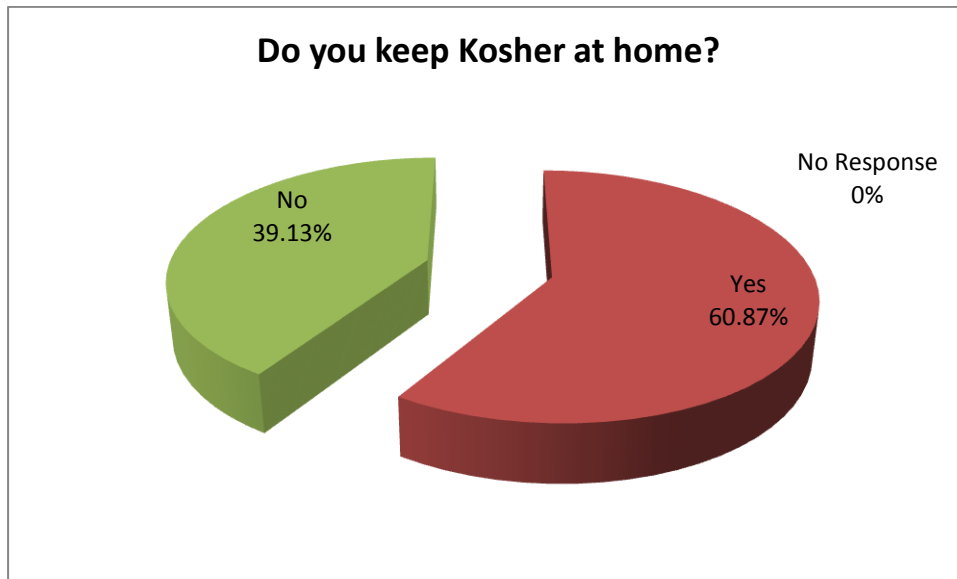


Fig. 15 Keeping kosher

60.87 % of respondents keep kosher in the home.

39.13% of respondents do not keep kosher in the home.

These figures when cross tabulated with Q.12, show the challenge that keeping kosher can be as one statistic drawn from this shows that 66% of respondents who do not keep kosher in the home answered yes when asked if food was an important part of their religious practice. This shows that while importance is attached to food practice, it is not always followed through.

Excluding no responses in Q.9 (b), not surprisingly 100% of those who said they practiced also said they keep kosher in the home.

4.2.2.16 Shopping

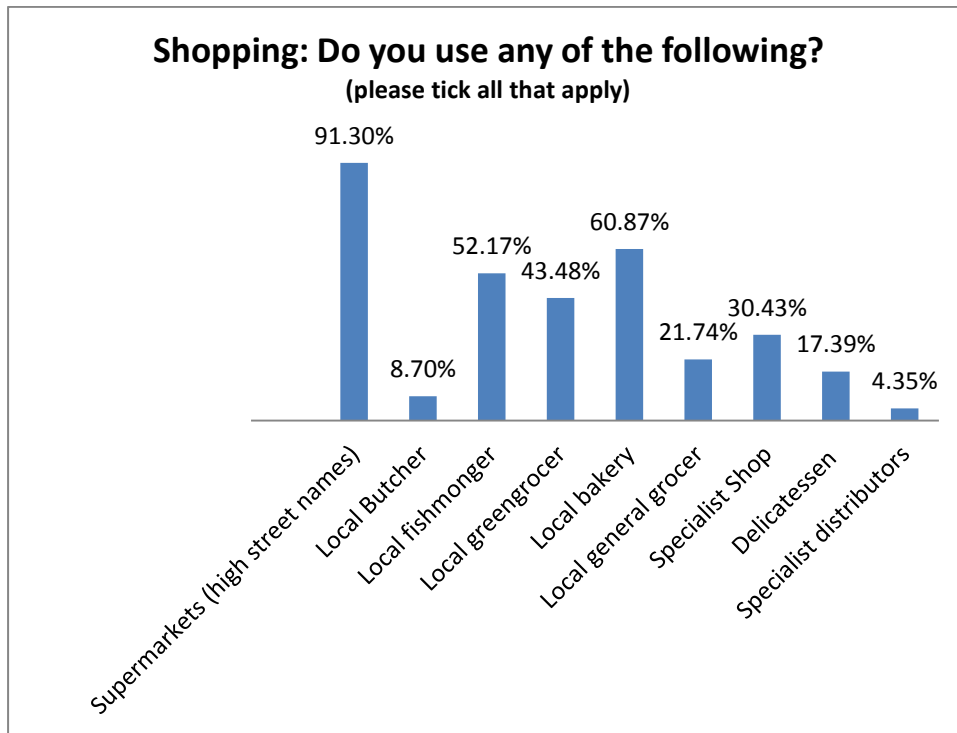


Fig. 16 Shopping

Respondents were asked to tick all shops that they use

91.3% use supermarkets (high street name)

8.70% use a local butcher

52.17% use a local fishmonger

43.48% use a local greengrocer

60.87% use a local bakery

21.74% use a local general grocer

30.43% use a specialist shop

17.39% use a delicatessen

4.35% use a specialist distributor

These figures show that 26% of respondents shop exclusively in a supermarket. Most respondents (69.56%) use 3 or more types of shop. Only 8.70% of respondents use a local butcher. This figure is to be expected as no kosher butcher exists in Dublin, with most kosher meats being bought pre-packaged in Supervalu in Churchtown. The 8.70% of respondents who use local butchers were cross-tabulated with Q.15 and it was discovered that none of these kept kosher in the home.

4.2.2.17 Availability of Kosher foods

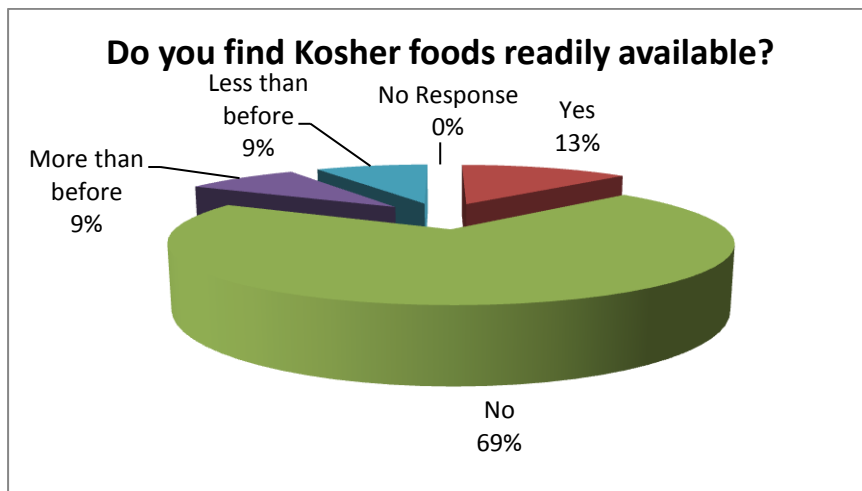


Fig. 17 Availability of Kosher foods

When asked if they found kosher foods readily available,

69% of respondents said no.

13% of respondents said yes.

9% of respondents said more than before.

9% of respondents said less than before.

This question rendered largely expected results with the majority of respondents not finding kosher foods readily available.

69% saying no to the question and when combined with the 'less than before', answers it reaches 78%.

Further analysis shows that of the 22% who claim either that kosher foods are readily available or more than before, 80% keep kosher in the home. This supports the notion of a community attempting to remain kosher.

4.2.2.18 Challenges regarding keeping Kosher

(Response rate analysis only)

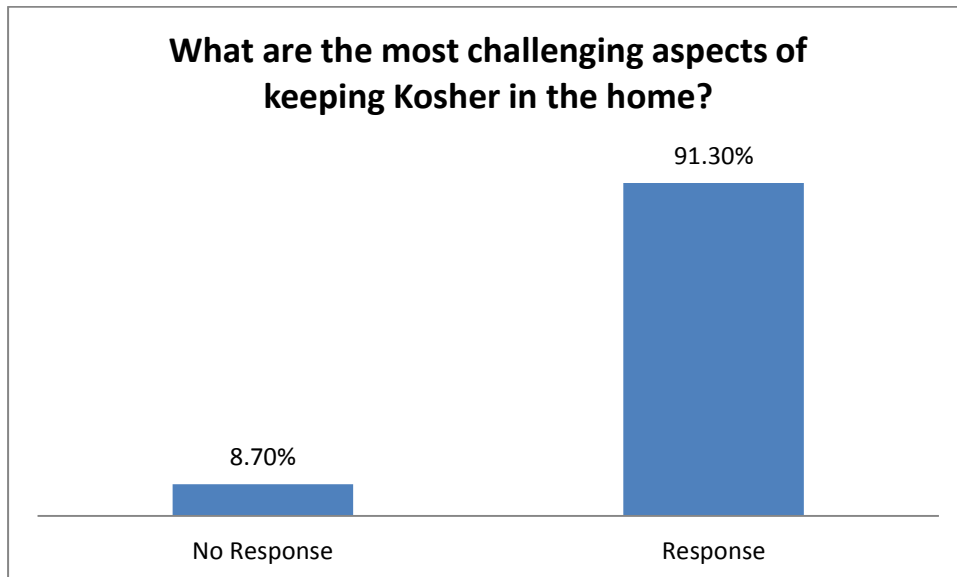


Fig. 18 Challenges regarding keeping kosher

Response rate analysis only

91.30% of respondents answered this question

8.70% did not answer this question

This was asked as an open question and is further dealt with in Section 4.4 content analysis. (See page 72).

4.2.2.19 Likelihood of more observance if availability increases

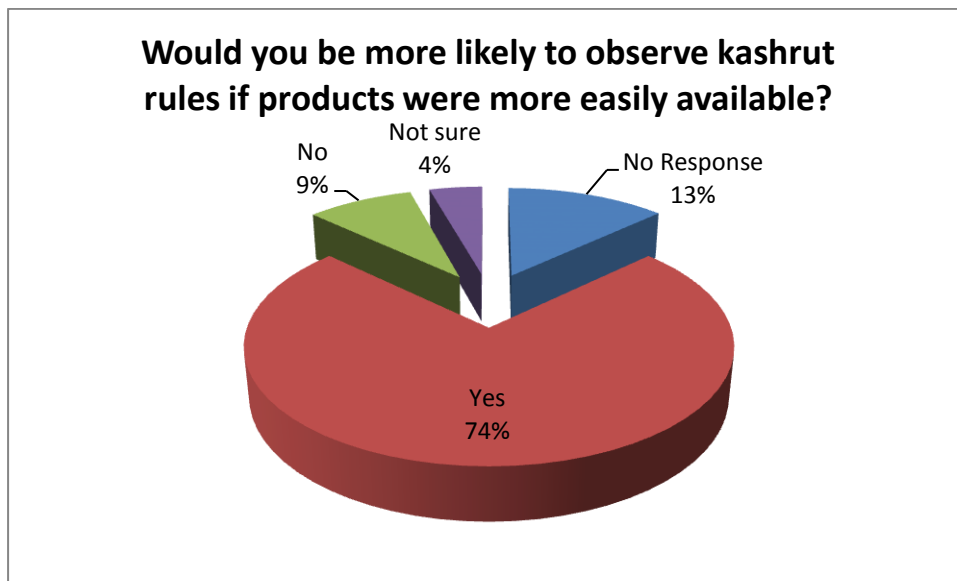


Fig. 19 Likelihood of more observance if availability increases

74% of respondents answered yes

9% of respondents answered no

4% of respondents answered 'not sure'

13% did not respond.

These show the aspirational value attached to keeping kosher. There is a clear majority who would be more likely to keep kosher if the products were available, and when the no-responses were removed the figure jumps to 85% which is a significant number.

4.2.2.20 Adjustment to availability in Dublin

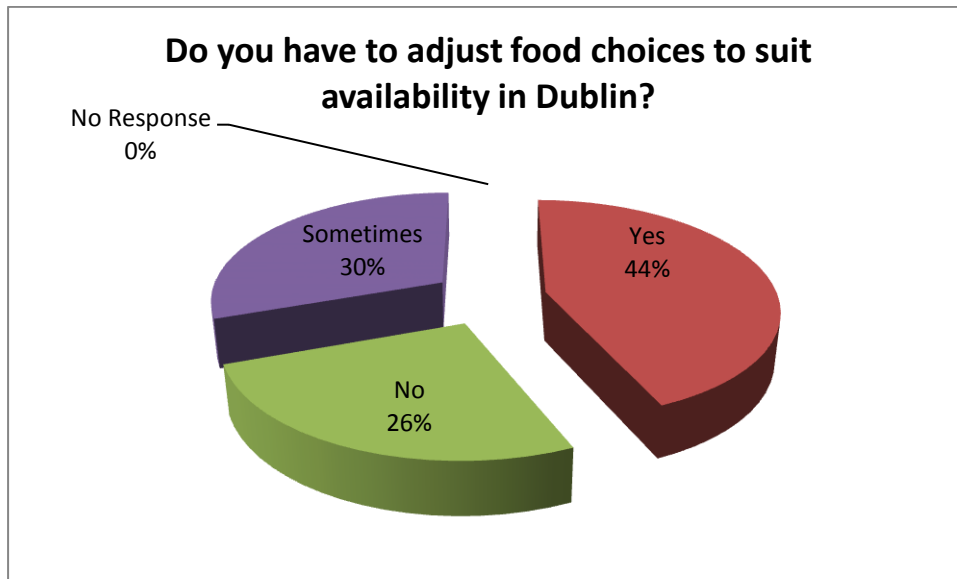


Fig. 20 Adjustment to availability in Dublin

44% answered yes

30% answered sometimes

26% answered no

This question had a very mixed response. Of the 26% who said that they didn't have to adjust their diets to Dublin, 66.6% were non-Irish, and separately 66.6% did not keep kosher.

4.2.2.21 Importance of passing on traditions

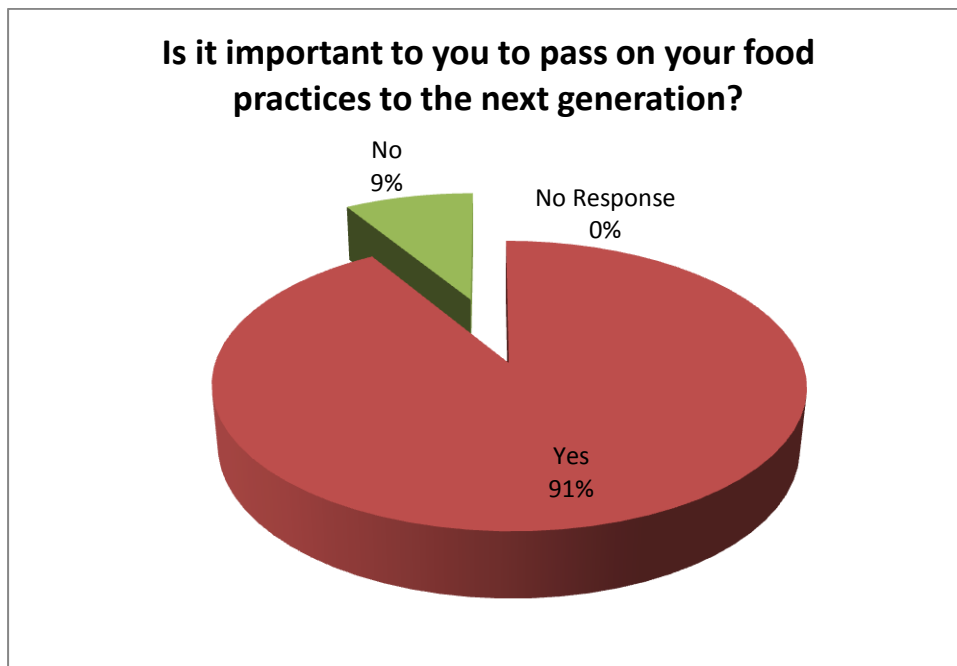


Fig. 21 Importance of passing on traditions

91% of respondents answered yes

9% of respondents answered no

This question had a large yes response. The traditions are repeatedly mentioned by many respondents throughout the study.

The 9% who replied no to the question were found to be Israeli.

The self-image of the Jewish population appears to be very strong, and the traditions in their simplest form are cultural identifiers and it would appear that the Israelis need no such re-enforcement of their culture or heritage.

4.2.2.22 The future

(Response rate analysis only)

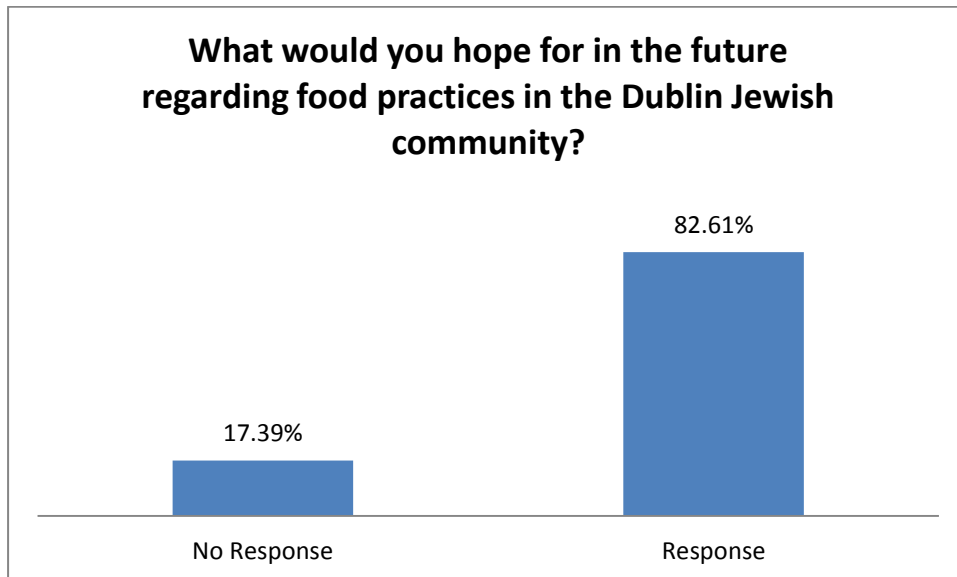


Fig. 22 The future

Response rate analysis only

82.61% of respondents answered this question

17.39% did not answer this question

This was asked as an open question and is further dealt with in Section 4.4 content analysis. (See page 72).

This concludes the statistical analysis of the questionnaire data.

4.2.3 Questionnaire Open Questions

Six in number open questions were included in the questionnaires. This will be further analysed in section 4.4 content analysis. Q5b, Q10, Q11, Q13, Q18, Q22 refers.

See Appendix 6: Frequency of Results for full question and answers.

4.3 Interviews

To provide greater depth of understanding, four personal interviews were conducted in the course of the primary research. A summary of each follows:

4.3.1 Summary of Interview with Israeli Embassy staff member

- **Interview Date:** Tuesday 12/03/13
- **Interviewee Name:** ‘Tomi’
- **Interview Location:** Embassy of Israel, 122 Pembroke road, Ballsbridge, Dublin 4
- **Duration:** Twenty minutes
- **Recorded by:** Electronic recording forbidden within the embassy, notes were taken instead
- **Profile of Interviewee:** Tomi is a member of the diplomatic staff at the Israeli embassy, he is aged 30-40, is married and is an Israeli citizen and is Jewish.
- **Title:** not given, for security reasons.

Summary: The interview took place in the Israeli embassy and was not recorded electronically as this method was forbidden under the security protocols in place.

The interviewee showed the mind-set of a non-Irish member of the Jewish community and it was revealing in that the question of menu content came to the fore. The respondent self-identified as a Sephardic Jew and indicated a preference for Sephardic type dishes and when questioned further expressed a final preference for ‘Israeli’ cuisine and described it as a mixture of Ashkenazi and Sephardi dishes that have combined since the foundation of that state to make a new style of cuisine. The question of convenience and cost was repeated throughout the interview, with the respondent claiming that kosher foods were not only expensive but difficult to access. This interviewee had little hope for the future of kosher food in Dublin feeling that the community was too small.

A full transcript for this interview is provided in Appendix 4.

4.3.2 Summary of Interview with Subject #1

- **Interview Date:** Friday 08/03/13
- **Interviewee Name:** Anon#1
- **Interview Location:** By telephone
- **Duration:** Twelve minutes
- **Recorded by:** Sony IC Recorder model # ICD- PX312/PX312F
- **Profile of Interviewee:** ‘S’ is Irish and is a 44 year old Jewish mother of two children (8 & 10). Married to a barrister. Lives in South County Dublin. Works in the home. Asked to remain anonymous.
- **Title:** ‘Housewife’

Summary: This interview took place on a Friday morning. The subject had been busy preparing for *Shabbat* which entails shopping and cooking. The subject had just returned from a shopping trip to Churchtown (Supervalu) and also Bretzel’s Bakery in Portobello and had much to say on the subject of convenience. The conclusion she made was that whilst keeping kosher was possible if a little effort was made, it was made more difficult by having only one main outlet for kosher food, as this involved an awkward trip to Churchtown sometimes ‘four times a week’. This subject also remarked that kosher shopping was ‘not cheap by any standards’ and said that when first married she often considered taking a cheaper non-kosher option because it seemed easier to buy and easier to justify the cost, but since having children she made a bigger effort to keep kosher as she wanted to pass on the traditions. She also made it clear that as her husband is a barrister they had no immediate financial worries and were well able to afford what she felt were high but necessary prices. This interviewee was very positive about the future of Jewish food practice as she felt that there would always be some people keeping the traditions alive and was encouraged by the imminent opening of a second branch of Bretzel’s bakery in Rathmines.

4.3.3 Summary of Interview with Subject #2

- **Interview Date:** Thursday 07/03/13
- **Interviewee Name:** Anon#2
- **Interview Location:** By telephone
- **Duration:** Fifteen minutes
- **Recorded by:** Sony IC Recorder model # ICD- PX312/PX312F
- **Profile of Interviewee:** 'H' is 55 years old, Jewish & born in London, married to an Irish Jew, who is an academic researcher and works from home. Two children in their twenties, both students at 3rd level, living at home. Works in a bank. Asked to remain anonymous.
- **Title:** Bank official.

Summary: 'H' was interviewed by telephone in the early evening on a Thursday. She has lived in a number of countries before settling in Ireland and contrasted the ease of keeping a kosher house in London with Dublin. One major concern was that because her husband worked from home they were a 'one-car' family and as she worked until late afternoon in the city centre. This made the shopping trips to Churchtown somewhat onerous and on occasion extremely difficult. The cost of kosher products was another issue for this subject; this was despite her assertion that her and her husband both enjoyed 'excellent salaries'. The cost issue was compared unfavourably with shops in North London and this location was also used as a comparison for the selection of products available with Dublin being considered a poor relation choice-wise.

4.3.4 Summary of Interview with chairman of JRCI

- **Interviewee Date :** Thursday, 28/02/13
- **Interviewee Name:** Maurice Cohen (Chairman of the Jewish representative Council of Ireland)
- **Interview Location:** Central Hotel, Exchequer St, Dublin 2
- **Duration:** Two hours and thirty minutes.
- **Recorded by:** Sony IC Recorder model # ICD- PX312/PX312F
- **Profile of Interviewee:** Age unknown, Maurice is a businessman and former restaurateur and a very senior figure within the Jewish community.
- **Title :** Chairman JRCI

Note: This interview lasted over two and a half hours, however only a few minutes were recorded; this was a deliberate policy as it was intended at the outset to use the meeting as an opportunity to gain general background information about the Jewish community in Dublin and organise the practical details of questionnaire distribution and other logistical needs. The recorded portion of the meeting pertained directly to the primary research required for the project.

Summary: This interview lasted for two and a half hours and was used as an important source of primary research. Mr. Cohen was used mainly for his knowledge of the Dublin Jewish community. Mr. Cohen is a businessman with interests in the ‘food’ industry and is a former restaurateur with a good knowledge of the food industry in Ireland. Mr. Cohen contrasted the kosher realities of Dublin with that of other major cities in the world and concluded that whilst other cities (London, Paris, Antwerp and Manchester) had a far wider range of kosher products available and far more readily accessible, this did not mean that these cities had ‘good’ kosher restaurants. Another conclusion drawn was that an attempt to keep kosher in Dublin was difficult for two main reasons, the first being the expense of the products, the second was the need for people shopping for kosher goods to travel to Churchtown for their groceries. The conclusion was that whilst keeping kosher was difficult availability-wise it was possible but not cheap. This is mitigated somewhat with the knowledge that the community is by and large, professional, educated and financially well-to do. *A full transcript for this interview is provided in Appendix 5.*

4.4. Content Analysis

4.4.1 Coding system for analysis of interviews

The content analysis process was undertaken in order to chart any recurring themes or motifs during the interviews and open questions within the questionnaire. The author printed transcripts of the interviews and forensically examined the responses. Whenever a topic was mentioned by a respondent, it was noted and once all the interviews were examined, it was possible to detect a pattern forming. By this method, the author completed an analysis of the keywords and phrases that were repeated by the respondents.

A coding system was adopted in order to aid identification during the process of content analysis. This consisted of allocating each respondent in initialised codename as follows:

Maurice Cohen	MC
Tomi (Israeli embassy	ISR
Anon #1	A1
Anon #2	A2

In addition the six open questions from the questionnaire were included in the content analysis process. This was because of the qualitative data they could supply. The open questions were allocated the same numbers as in the original questionnaire. (See Appendix 3: Survey Questionnaire.) For analysis purposes they will be coded as follows:

Q.5 (b)	Q.10	Q.11	Q.13	Q.18	Q.22
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As there were 23 respondents each will be assigned a number from 1-23. For example, an answer to question 18 from respondent 12 would be coded Q.18/R12.

4.4.2 Recurring themes from content analysis



Fig. 23 Content Analysis Info-graphic

Throughout the qualitative research which consisted of interviews and open questions, a number of themes and patterns became apparent.

Sorted by frequency from highest to lowest the results were as follows:

Phrase/Expression/Word	Frequency
1. Kosher	16
2. Tradition/Community	14
3. Café/Restaurant	14
4. Selection	13
5. Passover/Seder	11
6. Access	10
7. Cost/Expense	8
8. Size/Age of community	8

The analysis showed the following:

4.4.2.1. Kosher

This was an issue for almost all subjects, with much debate about storage in kosher conditions being one aspect and eating kosher food being another. The call for total separation of meat and dairy products in order to remain strictly kosher is seen as being particularly problematic.

Q.18/R12 *“To keep really kosher you need two kitchens, we only have one.”*

This was underpinned by ISR, who said:

ISR: *“There is the cooking but also the storage...I would say that we cook kosher but we don’t have space to keep kosher in our storage. It’s a matter of space really.”*

The concept of keeping kosher was mentioned by 56.52% of respondents in the questionnaire when asked in Q.13 about important food practices and it was the most important food practice for 39.13% of respondents.

The desire to keep kosher was a constant motif throughout the study as many respondents felt that it was difficult but that people were making the effort, ISR commented:

ISR: *“I try to keep kosher but it’s really a case of doing your best some times, we all try to keep kosher but sometimes it’s not possible to do so.”*

A1 made a similar observation saying:

A1: *“Keeping kosher was possible if a little effort was made.”*

Q.11/R13: *“It’s hard to get kosher food.”*

Another respondent went further and remarked regarding kosher food that there was:

Q.18/R5: *“None available.”*

Respondent MC insisted that whilst difficult, he felt that for those who desired to keep kosher, they would always manage to do so, commenting:

MC: *"I know that people who are traditional enough and observant enough you know Jewish enough will always find a way."*

He also recognised that different people had different personal attitudes as to what kosher meant and kept different levels of kosher, saying:

MC: *"There will always be people who keep different levels of kosher and I think this will continue."*

The desire to keep kosher appears to be strong within the community; with 59% of respondents saying they keep kosher (Q.15) and furthermore 74% saying they would be more likely to observe kosher rules if the products were more widely available. (Q.19)

The difficulty in sourcing kosher goods is borne out by responses from (Q.17) where 69% of respondents said that they did not find kosher products readily available. As seen in chapter two, the Jewish diaspora is widespread globally and it is likely that all small Jewish populations experience this.

4.4.2.1. Tradition/Community

The words tradition and community (not including the mentions of community size) were mentioned a total of 14 times, reflecting how many of the community feel about their group. As there is an ethnographic aspect to this study, this is entirely expected. The section of the questionnaire that elicited most comments about tradition/community was Q.10, where tradition or community was mentioned in this section on 11 occasions with other comments reflecting similar themes. A selection of these comments which were all taken from Q.10 shows the importance of the Jewish identity to the group:

Q.10/R2: *"Keeping the tradition alive."* Q.10/R8: *"Community."*

Q.10/R12: *"Being part of the community."* Q.10/R13: *"Community."*

Q.10/R15: *"Tradition."* Q.10/R17: *"The traditions."*

Q.10/R18: *"Being part of a tradition."* Q.10/R19: *"The history is important."*

Q.10/R21: *"The culture."*

Q.10/R22: *"Keeping the traditions alive."*

Q.10/R23: *"The traditions are very important to me."*

Q.10/R5: *"Keeping the Jewish culture and tradition, remembering where you came from."*

Q.10/R11: *"Community and feelings of association with friends and organisations."*

These responses make it clear that the self-image of many community members is one of a distinct and unique group bound by common traditions. The common traditions in this case would seem to be the observance of religious rituals and customs and attempting to adhere to kosher laws.

4.4.2.3. Café/Restaurant

There are 14 separate mentions of a kosher restaurant / café / food hall for Dublin. These occurred both in interviews and questionnaires. The lack of a kosher restaurant is a topic of much debate within the community. The desire for one is being met with discussion from many different viewpoints, with business people in the community recognising the difficulty of opening a food business that would cater for less than 2,000 people and others being more concerned if such a venture could be marketed to a wider audience. The other problems of whether any such café would be a milk or meat restaurant and whether it would serve Ashkenazi or Sephardic food are further points for debate. The desire remains within the community for such a venture and indeed it is the lack of such a place that means most Jewish families cook and eat at home.

Q.22/R11: *"Perhaps a kosher restaurant in Dublin"* and *"More community meals."*

Q.22/R16: *"Maybe a kosher café?"*

This attitude was widespread with other respondents saying their hope for the future would be:

Q.22/R18: *"...a kosher food hall or café."* Q.22/R19: *"somewhere to eat out."*

Q.22/R8: also said that they hoped for *“A kosher restaurant/coffee shop”*

This clearly shows the aspiration within the community for a place to eat out, as this is a theme that comes again and is shown in Q.11. When asked to highlight any challenges they face, some respondents mentioned a lack of public eateries:

Q.11/R17: said *“It’s a very small group, we can’t really eat out”*.

This theme was continued by R.18 who commented that they had:

Q11/R18: *“Nowhere to go with friends to eat”*

This was underpinned further by R19 who observed that:

Q11/R19: *“When my friends at college go out, if I go with them I can’t eat usually.”*

When ISR was asked if he would use a kosher restaurant in Dublin, he replied:

ISR: *“Of course ...everybody would and I think Israeli tourists would use it as well ... it’s difficult to tell tourists where to eat here...I think everybody would love to see a kosher restaurant in Dublin...There might be arguments over the menu though...”*

This pattern continued with respondent MC. Having a few points to make:

MC: *“...would it be a milk restaurant or a meat restaurant?”*

On the subject of broader appeal said:

MC: *“...would it be possible to sell it to the wider community?”*

Despite the difficulties surrounding the launch of such a venture, it remains the dream of several senior members of the Jewish community to have a public kosher eatery in Dublin at some stage.

MC: *“Well I certainly, and on a personal level you know, myself and several other members of the community, and certainly the Rabbi, would like to see a fully kosher restaurant here in the city.”*

However he went on to concede the difficulties were very great and that:

MC: *“There are plenty of obstacles to overcome you know and of course the very real question as to whether it could be run to break-even.”*

He also said regarding a kosher café/restaurant/food hall:

MC: “... *that is probably not feasible at the moment*”

In response to the interview question, ‘Where do you eat out?’ ISR replied:

“That’s easy, we don’t. It’s just too difficult... I was stationed in Berlin and Paris and Amsterdam and I found it easy to eat out in those places ...and Den Haag... but it’s difficult here.”

Many other minorities suffer a similar lack of ethnic dining out options in Dublin where it is deemed that their population or a lack of broader appeal would not sustain the venture commercially.

However, with the enthusiasm shown and the desire for a kosher eatery clearly indicated, the question remains as to why one hasn’t already been established.

4.4.2.4. Selection

Throughout the interviews and questionnaires the subject of the selection of foodstuffs came up 13 times. This is one of the biggest complaints that the community has.

The narrow selection of available goods in Dublin is reflected in the following comments:

Q.22/R5: *I hope to get more selection of food, kosher and Israeli.*”

The question asked what hopes was held for the future of food in the Dublin community and many responses were very similar as shown here:

Q.22/R9: *“A greater variety.”*

Q.22/R.2: *“More availability.”*

Q.22./R12: *“A wider availability.”*

Q.22/R13: *“A better selection.”*

Q.22/R17: *“Better selection, more shops.”*

Q.22/21: *“A few more shops.”*

Q.22/R22: *“Better selection.”*

Q.22/R23: *“More shops.”*

When answering Q.18 which asked about challenging aspects of keeping kosher, the respondents had the following to say:

Q.18/R6: *“Not enough variety of products”* Q.18/R9: *“Need a greater variety”*

Q.18/R11: *“Sourcing the foodstuff”* Q.18/R21 *“Poor selection”*

These results show the dissatisfaction with the current range of kosher products felt by the Jewish community.

In interview, ISR claimed to miss items like falafel and hummus when it was pointed out that these products are available in Dublin, ISR replied:

ISR: *“I know but it’s not the same as at home.”*

This comment hints at another aspect of kosher food in Dublin which is the possibility that some products available in Dublin’s small imported kosher selection are not of similar quality to those freely available in the mass-markets such as London, Manchester, Antwerp and Paris.

4.4.2.5 Passover/Seder

There were 11 mentions of Passover or Seder within the interviews and questionnaire. Passover is the most important festival in the Jewish religious calendar and Seder is the traditional meal which marks the beginning of the festival. The Passover festival lasts for 8 days and this year, 2013, Passover started on Monday 25th of March. As the questionnaires were being filled out in the three weeks preceding this, it is likely that Passover was uppermost in the minds of the respondents at this time.

Sourcing Passover foodstuffs was a common concern, as was keeping kosher at Passover. When asked in Q13 what the most important food practices were, responses relating to Passover / Seder were as follows:

Q.13/R3: *“Keeping kosher at Passover.”* Q.13/R4: *“Keeping kosher at Passover.”*

Q.13/R6: *“Passover products.”* Q.13/R12/R13/R14: *“Seder.”*

Q.13/R19: *“The Seder meal.”* Q.13/R20: *“Observing the Seder meal.”*

Q.13/R22: *“Seder meal.”* Q.13/R23: *“Passover.”*

It is clear that this most important of Jewish religious festivals remains a key event in the calendar for much of the community. The Seder meal is an event that many consider of utmost importance as it has traditional ties to both the family and the festival.

4.4.2.6. Access

The question of access to kosher product is one that is a constant in the community, in the questionnaire responses the distances and location involved occurred 10 times.

The main source of kosher food in Dublin is Supervalu in Churchtown and MC claims that most of the community live reasonably locally:

MC *“The epicentre of the Jewish population ...in Terenure or Rathfarnham”*.

Despite the bulk of the community living in these areas which are reasonably close to Churchtown, the data collected reveals an extremely negative view of the situation across all age groups, as shown by the following responses to Q.18 which asked about the most challenging aspects of keeping kosher:

Q.18/R2: *“Only buying in a specific shop”*

Q.18/R3: *“Having to drive to a supermarket which isn’t nearby where I live”*

Q.18/R4: *“Kosher shops are too far away”* Q.18/R6: *“Supervalu too far”*

Q.18/R11: *“Sourcing the food”* Q.18/R12: *“The distances involved”*

Q.18/R13: *“Supervalu is not near us”* Q.18/R16: *“I don’t have a car”*

Q.18/R18: *“It’s a long way off”* Q.18/R23: *“Churchtown is awkward to get to”*

It is possible to purchase small amounts of kosher food in three other places in Dublin:

- Tesco, Nutgrove Shopping Centre, Rathfarnham, Dublin 16
- Fallon & Byrne, Exchequer St., Dublin 2
- The South Africa Food Store, 4 Strand Street Great, Dublin 1

However, it is generally accepted that Supervalu Churchtown is the only place to buy a comprehensive grocery list. This means that apart from bread which is available nationwide as part of the Irish Pride, Kingsmill and Sunblest brands, most people have to go to Churchtown in Dublin 14 to shop and this is the cause of much discontent.

4.4.2.7 Cost/Expense

Cost of product was mentioned on 8 occasions in the questionnaires and was discussed during three interviews. There seems to be a widespread acceptance of the high cost of kosher products within the community, however the cost of food is still a contentious issue.

An interview with subject A2 revealed that the cost of kosher products was another issue for this subject; this was despite her assertion that her and her husband both enjoyed excellent salaries.

This attitude was echoed in interview by subject A1 who observed that kosher shopping was: A1: *“not cheap by any standards.”*

MC in interview had a similar viewpoint saying:

MC: *“Well the first thing to say is that whatever about keeping kosher is that it is very expensive to do so”*

MC further commented how difficult it is for the younger members of the community to keep kosher: MC: *“...when kosher foods are so costly”*

The questionnaires returned the following comments when asked about the most challenging aspects of keeping kosher:

Q.18/R7: *“Cost”*

Q.18/R8: *“The food is expensive”*

Q.18/R14: *“The cost”*

Q.18/R15: *“Expensive”*

Q.18/R16: *“Cost”*

Q.18/R17: *“It’s very expensive”*

Q.18/R18: *“Very expensive”*

Q.18/R21: *“Pricey”*

These responses show that the question of price is a key factor in the Jewish community's perception of the ease of keeping kosher with young and old remarking on the high cost of product.

The community is largely well-to-do and it is clear from the high number of professionals and business-people within the group that the Dublin Jewish community can largely be classed as ABC1 as a social demographic. This shows that the community's comments regarding the price of kosher food are not idly made or drawn from a position of low spending power, but from a genuine assessment of the relative value of the products. This is a by-product of a community that has high discretionary income levels but has scarcity value added to its grocery bill.

4.4.2.8. Size/Age of community

The size of the community was an issue for many. During interviews and questionnaires this issue was touched on repeatedly. In the questionnaire the community size was mentioned on 8 occasions and twice in interviews. The respondent coded ISR commented on the size of the Jewish community:

ISR: *"...to be honest there aren't enough Jews here"*

This was further alluded to by MC when discussing family meals and other traditions he observed that: MC: *"In fact in the Jewish community there aren't that many families anymore"*

MC said that many of the younger members of the Jewish population have emigrated saying: MC: *"...the youngsters having flown the nest ...either living here or living abroad"*

Another comment referred to the age profile of the community:

MC: *"the community is primarily 60+ in age"*

The size and age of the community was an issue for the questionnaire respondents also, as shown by the following answers to Q.11 which asked respondents to outline challenges that they face as a member of the Jewish community in Dublin.

Q.11/R5: *"(The community) ...is a bit old, doesn't have a strong effect on the young generation"*

Q.11/R8: *"Dwindling numbers"* Q.11/R9: *"Getting smaller"*

Q.11/R14: *"It's an old community"* Q.11/R16: *"It's a very small community"*

Q.11/R17: *"It's a very small group"* Q.11/R20: *"The group is getting smaller"*

Q.11/R21: *"Many friends have moved away"* Q.11/R23: *"It's an ageing community"*

These comments indicate a core community in decline, and furthermore the respondents are clearly concerned about the downward spiral in numbers and all the attendant problems that this shift brings with it. Whether this is particular to Dublin or is replicated in other small communities is not known.

4.4.3 Key findings

Combining both the statistical analysis and content analysis, the key findings of the research are presented below in a series of points about Dublin's Jewish community and their relevance to a number of topics. They can be broken into several categories as follows:

1. The loyalty felt towards the community and its traditions
2. The size and profile of the community
3. The socio-economic stratum the community occupies
4. The self-image and identity of the community
5. The desire for somewhere to eat out
6. Limited availability, inconvenience and high costs surrounding kosher products
7. The desire to observe *Kashrut* or more simply: keep kosher

4.4.3.1 The loyalty felt towards the community and its traditions

Although there is new younger cohort arriving to work with the multi-nationals, the core Dublin community is an ageing one that is very proud of its traditions. This is evidenced by the extremely high proportion (91.3%) of the group who say that it is important for them to pass on their traditions to the next generation. Pride in the community is apparent elsewhere as the group work very hard to provide services for the elderly within the community and at the other end of the scale, substantial resources are poured into educating the young. These actions speak of a community determined to retain its identity and culture at all costs. This is shown by the 81%+ who expressed a degree of importance to their Jewishness. A further point can be drawn regarding self-identity by the amount (81.25%) of Dublin Jews who feel that food practices are important. This was in marked contrast to Israeli Dublin-based Jews (66.6%). The author believes this is an example of the Dublin Jews using their food practices as a 'cultural identifier' and that the Israeli Jews have no need for this reinforcement of their identity as they come from a Jewish majority environment. This concept needs to be compared and contrasted to other similar-sized Jewish communities globally to measure any differences or similarities. Also, the Dublin

Jews are largely a practicing community. This is borne out in interview by the high attendances at services on a Saturday which is often 300 strong - a very large segment of the group.

4.4.3.2 The size and profile of the community

This is a major issue for the established community. In the questionnaire segment of the research, 34.7% of respondents mentioned the size of the community. The pattern is one of emigration to places that have larger Jewish communities such as London, Manchester and of course Israel and the U.S.A. Against this background of declining numbers, which appears to be the most key issue today, there is a small but increasing upsurge in inward Jewish migration mostly driven by the presence of multi-nationals in Dublin such as Google, Ebay and Paypal. These firms are attracting younger (mainly Sephardic) Jews who are often single and therefore only interact with the rest of the community in the synagogue at service. It is a measure of how seriously the community treat the dwindling numbers and the opportunity that the new influx represent, that there is a whole page devoted to Jewish immigration to Ireland on the website (www.jewishireland.org) going even to the lengths of advertising jobs in the IT sector with the multi-nationals mentioned here. The question of age is important as well. Despite the statistics showing 60.89 % of respondents to this surveys being over 40 years, anecdotal evidence suggests that the majority of the community is over 60 years of age. With a community ageing and shrinking in numbers or at best negating the attrition rate, the future of kosher food in Dublin can only be reasonably expected to mirror these trends.

4.4.3.3 The socio-economic stratum the community occupies

The community is a financially comfortable one, with all evidence pointing towards ABC1 demographics. There is a high occurrence of self-employed people, business people, academics and professionals. A revealing factor is zero % reporting as unemployed. The social positioning of the group is not one that traditionally lends itself to working in the catering industry and so it can be surmised that the skills may not exist within the community to successfully run a kosher establishment.

4.4.3.4 The self-image and identity of the community

This would appear to be a very important strand of the community's collective conscience. The community not only retains its sense of pride in its Jewishness but also its sense of Dublin pride and its sense of history. Interviews revealed that the Jewish community are planning 5 to 6 events to form part of 'The Gathering 2013.' This speaks of a confident community with a vested interest in Ireland and a sense of self-worth.

The issue of identity and self-identity is more complicated. The questionnaire data shows that 92% of respondents wish to pass on the traditions to the next generation. This suggests that for a majority, the pursuit of keeping kosher is a method of 'cultural identification' that in practice has a broader cultural significance than its primary religious one. For many, the idea of keeping kosher is now one of identifying the tribe and other members of it to both outsiders and the extended group. In social science theories, the Jewish community is what is known as an invisible minority and the trait of identifying strongly with a cultural practice that sets one apart is a key facet of this theory. This is borne out by the 82.61% of respondents who attached a degree of importance to being Jewish but only 43.48% of the same sample who said they practice. This disparity points towards the cultural attachment being stronger than the religious attachment.

4.4.3.5 The desire for somewhere to eat out

This is one of the most widely held hopes for the future with 61% of respondents indicating a desire for a food venue. This is particularly strong with the younger cohort and is also very strong within the non-Irish Jewish group. The opening of such a venue, be it café/restaurant/food hall/delicatessen is one that is fondly nurtured by some senior figures within the community. Commercial realities aside, there is however, a hard-headed understanding that such a venture would be fraught with difficulties not least within the community as debate regarding style of food would consume much energy even at the planning stage. Whilst there is much discussion of this topic, there is little action for the moment.

4.4.3.6 Limited availability, inconvenience and high costs surrounding kosher products

The community have only one main source of kosher food (other than bread) and this is the Supervalu in Churchtown, Dublin 14. This is one of the most often cited causes of complaint. Whilst the community largely resides in South County Dublin, it is apparent that having to source the majority of a weekly shop in one outlet was onerous to many with one respondent A1 commenting that she sometimes made 4 trips a week to Supervalu.

There is no doubt that the community as a whole are crying out for retailers to stock kosher products. In fact, 74% said increased availability would increase their likelihood of keeping kosher. However the community are also aware that this is unlikely to happen overnight and without some initiative from within the community. Cost was mentioned on 14 occasions in the open ended questions on challenges facing the community.

4.4.3.7 The desire to observe *Kashrut* or more simply: keep kosher

This is the single biggest issue within the community. 70% of questionnaire respondents mentioned the difficulty of sourcing food, with almost all members of the group having comments to make or opinions to express regarding the availability of product or the size of the selection of product available. It is a common theme that a number of difficulties exist. The challenges are for the most part geographical inconvenience and poor range of products available. 56.5% specified poor selection and 35% highlighted high costs. This, when added to the previous point about having no realistic prospect of finding a place to 'meet and eat,' conspire to make these challenges very great indeed.

Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

Chapter five examines the research findings and measures them against the research objectives to ascertain the success or otherwise of the study.

1. Define what it is to be Jewish
2. Explore the role of food in Jewish practice
3. Investigate the nature of the Jewish community in modern-day Dublin
4. Ascertain the challenges faced by the Jewish community in Dublin with regard to food practices

The substantive question is re-examined and a final conclusion is made. The chapter finishes with recommendations.

5.2. Addressing of objectives

5.2.1 Define what it is to be Jewish

The technical definition is one who is born to a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism viz “*be born of a Jewish mother*” (matrilineal descent) (Kittler & Sucher, 2004; Weiner, 2012) or convert to Judaism according to Jewish law. (Weiner, 2012). In practice, most people with either parent being Jewish could consider themselves to be Jewish. For the purposes of this study, the Dublin Jewish community was considered entirely Jewish without further qualification necessary.

5.2.2 Explore the role of food in Jewish practice

As with many other religions, food plays an important role in the observance of day to day practice. In Jewish life, food has not only its ritual part to play but is a very real reminder of Jewish history as many dishes are consumed as part of a ceremony on one of the many high or holy days in the Jewish calendar. Most Jewish festivals or holy days have a strong food connection with certain foods eaten or not eaten depending on historical precedent. In some cases food is not eaten at all. In all cases this is due to religious stricture and the Jewish faith is famous for its food practices based on religious teaching. Chapter two included a full list of Jewish dietary laws and an

overview of Jewish festivals and holy days that had food practices associated with them.

This study has confirmed that these practices, whilst wholly embraced by the observant in the Dublin Jewish community are in effectively becoming cultural paradigms as well as religious norms. This is entirely in keeping with a minority community attempting to retain its identity, and although the community will always attempt to keep kosher, the relevance is slowly become a secular viewpoint rather than a religious imperative.

5.2.3 Investigate the nature of the Jewish community in modern-day Dublin

The Jewish community in modern-day Dublin has been investigated in chapters two and four. The investigations consisted of reading archived literature and materials to ascertain the history of the community and more contemporary literature to establish a view of today's community. This was augmented by qualitative research (interviews and questionnaires with some open questions) and by quantitative research (standard questionnaires)

This resulted in the following conclusions being drawn:

The Dublin Jewish community is:

- Largely middle class and financially comfortable
- Largely resident in South County Dublin in postcodes Dublin 6, Dublin 6W, and Dublin 14
- Educated
- Shrinking in numbers
- Proud of its tradition and heritage
- Self-reliant and dynamic
- Largely observant (practicing)
- For the most part attempting to keep kosher
- Hoping for an improvement in its food choices

5.2.4 Ascertain the challenges faced by the Jewish community in Dublin with regard to food practices

The challenges facing the Jewish community are numerous. The challenges regarding food practices are difficult but not insurmountable. The Jewish community is currently getting by with far fewer choices than previous generations enjoyed and this is despite the newly-globalised nature of our modern world. The challenges may be summarised by the following:

- Lack of retail units selling kosher products
- Narrow range of products when they are available
- Relatively high cost of kosher products
- Lack of a public eating house of any description providing kosher food

These points may vary from time to time in degrees of importance but remain the crucial challenges.

This study shows that as time has gone on the Dublin Jewish community has found itself compromising the tenets of ‘theological’ kosher observance in order to fulfil their observance by more practical means. This has led to the informal creation of what many Jews refer to as “degrees of kosher” and in the opinion of the author, show that the cultural aspect while religious in its inception has gradually become the motivating factor. This is not to say that the community has turned its back on its teachings. The study has found that ironically the community has had to become a little less Jewish in order to remain Jewish.

This is not unusual in any minority community, and whilst Dublin’s Jewish community is proud, resourceful and tenacious, the day to day exigencies of keeping kosher in the strictest sense are becoming more difficult and current practice within the Dublin community reflects this fact.

5.3 Addressing the substantive question

Is keeping kosher in 21st century Dublin a challenge for the Jewish community?

This study has shown a multiplicity of challenges for those wishing to remain kosher in 21st century Dublin. The community is coping with these challenges with varying degrees of success. The most influential factor affecting the community and its food habits is the size and numbers of those attempting to remain observant at table. The initial research question was posed with the theory that the challenges did exist firmly in mind.

Keeping kosher in 21st century Dublin is a challenge.

5.4 Recommendations

1. A further, more detailed study into food choices focusing on age and gender across a wider sample of the Jewish community to be undertaken.
2. A study into the food challenges experienced by a similar sized minority in Dublin.
3. A further, wider study to investigate food choices as a result of belief systems throughout Ireland and encompassing all religions and none.
4. A further study to investigate the feasibility of a new business venture based on kosher food.
5. An office to be created within Dublin Institute of Technology in Cathal Brugha Street for the study of food and cultural issues.

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Appendix 1: Little Jerusalem Shops in the 1930's

A list of Jewish owned shops in and around Clanbrassil Street. Dublin 8, in the 1930's.

• Aronovitch	Grocer
• Baigels	Wine
• Barrons	Butcher
• Barrons	Delicatessen
• Citron	Butcher
• Erlich	Butcher
• Fine	Milk & Grocer
• Freedman	Grocer
• Goldberg	Baker
• Hen's	Abattoir
• I. Goldwater	Poulterer
• J. Goldwater	Poulterer
• Jackson	Grocer
• Leopold	Poulterer
• M. Rubenstein	Butcher
• Newman	Grocer
• Ordman	Grocer
• P.Rubenstein	Butcher
• Samuels	Butcher
• Smullen	Milk
• Weinrock	Baker
• Wertzberger	Wine

(Harris, 2002).

Appendix 2: List of Prominent Irish Jews

- Abraham Weeks, the first person killed during 1916 Easter Rising. A Member of the Irish Citizen Army.
- Alan Shatter, Fine Gael TD for Dublin South and currently Minister for Justice and Equality and Minister for Defence.
- Ben Briscoe, (son of Robert Briscoe), former Fianna Fáil T.D. and Lord Mayor of Dublin (1988).
- Bethal Solomons, (1885–1965), medical doctor, master of the Rotunda, Irish Rugby International.
- Chaim Herzog, sixth President of Israel.
- Daniel Day-Lewis, actor. (Matrilineal descent).
- David Marcus, (1924–2009), author, editor, broadcaster,
- David Marcus, author and professor of Bible and ancient languages at The Jewish Theological Seminary.
- District Judge Hubert Wine, family court judge and prominent member of Dublin's Jewish Community,
- Estella Solomons, (1882–1968), landscape and portrait artist.
- Francis Annyas (Ānes), Mayor of Youghal in 1569, 1576 and 1581.
- Gerald Goldberg, Lord Mayor of Cork in 1977.
- Gustav Wilhelm Wolff, founder of Harland and Wolff shipbuilders, MP for East Belfast for 18 years.
- Harry Kernoff, Painter (1900–1974).
- Immanuel Jakobovits, Chief Rabbi of Ireland between 1949 and 1958, later British Chief Rabbi.
- Joe Briscoe, (son of Robert Briscoe), member of the Jewish Representative Council.
- June Levine, feminist, journalist and writer.
- Justice Henry Barron, Irish Supreme Court judge 1997-2003.
- Lenny Abrahamson, Irish Film Director.
- Leonard Abrahamson, (1920's-1961), Gaelic scholar, born in Russia, grew up in Newry
- Leopold Bloom, fictional protagonist of Ulysses.
- Louis Bookman, (1890–1943), Irish international soccer and cricket player.
- Louis Lentin, director (documentary films, television, theatre).
- Maurice Freeman, (1875–1951), Mayor of Johannesburg 1934/35.
- Maurice Levitas, (1917–2001) (born Dublin) was an anti-fascist who fought in the International Brigades.
- Max Eager (son of George Eager), first Chief Rabbi of Ireland.
- Max Nurock, Israeli Consul-General to Australia, subsequently Israel's first Ambassador to Australia.
- Maurice Cohen, Chair of the Jewish representative Council of Ireland.
- Mervyn Taylor, former Labour Party T.D. and Minister for Equality and Law Reform.
- Michael Noyk, Irish Republican and solicitor during the Irish War of Independence.
- Michelle Citron, feminist film, video and multimedia producer, scholar and author.

- Otto Jaffe, Lord Mayor of Belfast (1899 and 1904).
- Rabbi Yitzhak HaLevi Herzog, Chief Rabbi of Ireland from 1919 to 1937, later of Palestine and Israel.
- Rabbi Zalman Lent, Currently Ireland's Chief Rabbi
- Robert Briscoe, twice Lord Mayor of Dublin (1956 and 1961).
- Ronit Lentin Head of Sociology, Trinity College, Dublin.
- Stella Steyn (1907–1987), Dublin-born artist.
- William Annyas (Ānes), Mayor of Youghal (1555)
- Yaakov Pearlman, Ireland's former Chief Rabbi.

Appendix 3: Survey Questionnaire



Questionnaire regarding kosher food in Dublin

Compiled by Diarmuid Murphy for inclusion in final year dissertation for

*D.I.T Cathal Brugha Street. **Please note: Anonymity is guaranteed.***

Screening Question: Are you Jewish? Yes/No (If Yes, proceed to Q1)

Q.1 What is your gender?

a) Male ☐ b) Female ☐

Q.2 Do you live in Dublin or the greater Dublin metropolitan area?

a) Yes ☐ b) No ☐

Q.3 What is your nationality?

a) Irish ☐
b) Other, ☐ Please state _____

Q.4 What is your place of birth?

a) Ireland ☐
b) U.K. ☐
c) Other, ☐ Please state _____

Q.5 Employment. (Please tick one)

a) Employed	<input type="checkbox"/>	b) Self-employed	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/>	d) Retired	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Student	<input type="checkbox"/>		

Occupation _____

Q.6 What is your age group?

- a) 15-20 ☐ b) 21-30 ☐ c) 31-40 ☐
d) 41-50 ☐ e) 51-60 ☐ f) 61-70 ☐
g) 70+ ☐

Q.7 Family. Do you live with? (Please tick one)

- a) Your parents ☐ b) Your Children ☐
c) Multi-generational family unit ☐ d) Friends ☐
e) Other relatives ☐ f) Partner/Spouse (No Children) ☐
g) Alone ☐

Q.8 Religion: How do you see yourself? (Please tick one)

- a) Orthodox Jewish ☐
b) Reform/Progressive Jewish ☐
c) Just Jewish ☐
d) Something else, Please state _____
e) None of the above ☐

Q.9 How important is being Jewish in your life?

- a) The most important thing ☐ b) Very important ☐
c) Important ☐ d) Not too important ☐
e) Not at all important ☐

Do you practice? _____

Q.10 What is the most important aspect of being Jewish in Dublin?

Q.11 What challenges do you face as a member of Dublin's Jewish community?

Q.12 Is food an important part of your religious practice?

a) Yes ☐ b) No ☐

Q.13 Please list the most important food practices in your opinion, with a) being the most important

a) _____ b) _____
c) _____ d) _____
e) _____

Q.14 Eating at Home: Who cooks your meals? (Please tick one)

a) Parents	<input type="checkbox"/>	b) Partner/Spouse	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Other relative	<input type="checkbox"/>	d) Shared Chore	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) You	<input type="checkbox"/>	f) Friend/Boyfriend/Girlfriend	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Someone else,	<input type="checkbox"/>	Please state _____	

Q.15 Do you keep kosher in the home?

a) Yes ☐ b) No ☐

Q.16 Shopping: Do you use any of the following? (Please tick all applicable)

a) Supermarkets (high street names)	<input type="checkbox"/>	b) Local butcher	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Local fishmonger	<input type="checkbox"/>	d) Local greengrocer	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Local bakery	<input type="checkbox"/>	f) Local general grocer	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Specialist shop	<input type="checkbox"/>	h) Delicatessen	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Specialist distributors	<input type="checkbox"/>		

Q.17 Do you find kosher foods readily available?

- | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| a) Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | b) No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) More than before | <input type="checkbox"/> | d) Less than before | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q.18. What are the most challenging aspects of keeping kosher in the home?

Q.19 Would you be more likely to observe kashrut rules if products were more easily available?

- | | | | |
|-------------|--------------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| a) Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | b) No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) Not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

Q.20 Do you have to adjust food choices to suit availability in Dublin?

- | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| a) Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | b) No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) Sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

Q.21 Is it important to you to pass on your food practices to the next generation?

- | | | | |
|--------|--------------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| a) Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | b) No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------|--------------------------|-------|--------------------------|

Q.22 What would you hope for in the future regarding food practices in the Dublin Jewish community?

Thank You for completing this questionnaire. Collection details: _____

Diarmuid Murphy Tel: 086 3816388 Email: diarmuid.murphy3@mydit.ie

Appendix 4: Interview Transcript

Interview Details (Tomi):

- **Interview Date:** Tuesday 12/03/13
- **Interviewee Name:** 'Tomi'
- **Interview Location:** Embassy of Israel, 122 Pembroke road, Ballsbridge, Dublin 4
- **Duration:** Twenty minutes
- **Recorded by:** As electronic recording forbidden within the embassy, detailed notes were taken instead
- **Profile of Interviewee:** Tomi is a member of the diplomatic staff at the Israeli embassy. He is aged 30-40, is married and is an Israeli citizen and is Jewish.
- **Title:** not given, for security reasons.

Note: Questions in bold were scheduled questions.

Questions not in bold were secondary / follow-up / ad lib questions

Questions:

1. **DM: What is your nationality?**

T: Israeli

2. **DM: Do you cook at home?**

T: No my wife does the cooking. She is from Israel also and she likes to cook. Her parents made *Aliyah* in the fifties and were *Kibbutzniks*. She learned to cook in the kibbutz.

DM: Where were her parents from?

T: They were Iranian and Russian but they met each other in Kibbutz.

3. **DM: Where do you shop for food?**

T: My wife does the shopping. She goes to that place in Churchtown, you know the one? She gets nearly everything there.

DM: Supervalu

T: Yes that's the one. Although she buys fruit and water nearer to home. It's too far to go to the other place (Supervalu) every time we need something.

4. **DM: What do you do to keep kosher?**

(Laughs) Well my wife does the shopping and cooking so it's up to her really, but you know there is more than one level of *Kashrut*. There is the cooking but also the storage...I would say that we cook kosher but we don't have space to keep kosher in our storage. It's a matter of space really.

5. **DM: How does being Jewish affect your food choices?**

T: Well my food choices are made by my wife but of course I try to keep kosher but it's really a case of doing your best some times, we all try to keep kosher but sometimes it's not possible to do so.

6. DM: How do think kosher food will develop in Dublin?

T: (Laughs) I don't think it will unless the community grows... to be honest there aren't enough Jews here to make the future anything.

7. DM: What foods do you have to give up (if any)?

T: There are so many! I suppose I miss the salads and the fruits but I can get them here but it's not the same.

DM: But you didn't have to give them up through unavailability?

T: No, I suppose not. I miss the *Cholent* that my family makes...I miss the very fresh fish and the salads in the restaurants in Tel-Aviv.

8. DM: What foods do you miss most?

T: I miss falafel and hummus very much.

DM: They are both widely available in Dublin.

T: (laughs) I know but it's not the same as at home. I suppose I miss Israeli food more than anything...I mean Israeli food is more important to me than kosher food.

DM: You mean the mix of Ashkenazi and Sephardi dishes?

T: Yes, exactly. The dishes that we use in Israel today...there is a story that during the *Aliyah* people in Jerusalem had to share their cooking facilities and everyone would make *Cholent* of course for *Shabbat* and this story tells that in the communal kitchen there was maybe twenty pots of *Cholent* and someone came to take their *Cholent* and of course they got the wrong pot and so some Ashkenazi people had to eat Sephardi food and the other way around of course and this happened a few times and it was this way that people got to taste different food.

DM: Did they enjoy it?

T: Well not all them you know some people are very traditional in their ways but certainly lots of people now use both traditions...

9. DM: Where do you eat out?

T: That's easy ...we don't. It's just too difficult... I was stationed in Berlin and Paris and Amsterdam and I found it easy to eat out in those place ...and Den Haag... but it's difficult here.

10. DM: Would you use a kosher restaurant if there was one in Dublin?

T: Of course. Everybody would and I think Israeli tourists would use it as well ... it's difficult to tell tourists where to eat here...I think everybody would love to see a kosher restaurant in Dublin...There might be arguments over the menu though (laughs)... INTERVIEW ENDS

Appendix 5: Interview Transcript

- **Interview Date :** Thursday, 28/02/13
- **Interviewee Name:** Maurice Cohen (Chairman of the Jewish Representative Council of Ireland)
- **Interview Location:** Central Hotel, Exchequer Street, Dublin 2
- **Duration:** Two hours and thirty minutes.
- **Recorded by:** Sony IC Recorder model # ICD- PX312/PX312F
- **Profile of Interviewee:** Age unknown, Maurice is a businessman and former restaurateur and a very senior figure within the Jewish community.
- **Title :** Chairman JRCI

Note: This interview lasted over two and a half hours, however only a few minutes were recorded. This was a deliberate policy as it was intended at the outset to use the meeting as an opportunity to gain general background information about the Jewish community in Dublin and organise the practical details of questionnaire distribution and other logistical needs.

The recorded portion of the meeting pertained directly to the primary research required for the project.

Questions:

DM: The first question I'd like to ask is how is the availability of kosher products today in Dublin? And how difficult is it to keep a kosher house?

MC: Well the first thing to say is that whatever about keeping kosher is that it is very expensive to do so...there are a wide range of kosher products available to us on the market ...primarily through Supervalu in Churchtown and the meats and all sorts of things are available there...I mean there certainly would not be anywhere near the kind of range that there would be for non-kosher products... I mean pre-cooked foods, and that is because Jewish people, certainly in Dublin anyway ...primarily cook their own foods at home...

DM: Cooking at home for the family?

MC: Oh yes of course... I mean family meals are a very important thing... and in fact in the Jewish community there aren't that many families anymore ... the community is primarily 60+ in age...the youngsters having flown the nest ...either living here or living abroad...food is certainly something of a central point in Jewish life...

DM: When you go abroad, are you jealous of the ease which other Jewish communities have access to kosher products?

MC: Well generally in any of the big cities there would be kosher restaurants...(pauses) I'm not really sure if the quality of the food would be that great ...perhaps in New York or America...but there is I mean ...take London...North London there is in the take-aways, in the Sephardi take-aways, the Middle-Eastern take-aways, I mean the food would be tasty but there would in my opinion not be the same tastes as in non-kosher restaurants and I am a bit of a food lover...maybe it's

because the ownership or the people doing the cooking wouldn't have the taste buds for those cuisines...I mean traditional Jewish cuisines...

DM: So do Jewish people have to adapt the local produce then to make do?

MC: Well there aren't many inherent Irish foods...and the Jewish community by and large would have brought their Ashkenazi styles of cookery with them... and latterly there would have been newer people arriving and you know we did a survey at the Synagogue and we discovered that 30% of attendees had arrived since the year 2000 ...No-one had any idea. It caught a lot of us by surprise... this was a sample of 400 people and I think if my memory serves me correctly the last census showed a population of 1,986 so obviously this was a large sample ...however one could say the sample is slightly skewed as many of our older people wouldn't be inclined to answer an online survey and I don't think that helped...However I do think ...and this is anecdotally that the majority of the newcomers to our community are for the most part of Sephardi background...again they are adapting, they are buying their foodstuffs in Supervalu and sharing recipes and so on ...

DM: Tell me, what are your hopes for the future regarding food and the Jewish community?

MC: Well I certainly and on a personal level you know myself and several other members of the community and certainly the Rabbi would like to see a fully kosher restaurant here in the city... that is probably not feasible at the moment and there are plenty of obstacles to overcome you know and of course the very real question as to whether it could be run to break-even... you know we certainly wouldn't want to run it at a loss... and of course would it be a milk restaurant or a meat restaurant? These would have to be looked at...would it be possible to sell it to the wider community? The non-Jewish community? Because the community is too small and would be too hard to make money...whether or not it would be located in the centre or the epicentre of the Jewish population? You know in Terenure or Rathfarnham or would be in town? You know there would be lots and lots of questions...including whether anybody would have the time and in fact would be willing to put the time and effort in to a project like that...these would be big problems...time, effort and money... Whether you would do a New York-style Deli and try to appeal to everyone you know as many people as possible...and of course doing that using kosher meats may put the costs outside what the wider community would be willing to pay you know for a salt beef sandwich... these are the questions from a business point of view that would have to be answered before anyone would be brave enough to see if it could be done.

DM: Will the Jewish community remain kosher?

MC: Well it depends what you mean by remain kosher... there is a lot of pressure as there always has been on the younger members of the community when kosher foods are so costly...I mean some people think it's harder today than it was. I'm not sure it is ...I mean I can remember because my in-laws were kosher butchers and I know that people who are traditional enough and observant enough you know Jewish enough will always find a way so that really isn't a problem for anyone who is truly religious and traditional and who wants to keep kosher it's just another problem to be overcome... the word 'remain' is problematic there in as much as that in any Jewish community anywhere in the world unless you are in the epicentre of Jewish life there

will always be lay Jews and there will always be people who keep different levels of kosher and I think this will continue ...we don't have a survey to say how many are keeping 100% kosher or even 50% kosher and what could it be compared to? A survey from forty, fifty, sixty years ago that doesn't exist? So we can't really compare it and there isn't really a similar community elsewhere so our problems are neither good bad or indifferent. We just don't know the figures... We had a similar problem with something entirely different and we discovered that we had around three hundred active members of the Orthodox community in the Synagogue and with our numbers we had to conclude that the percentage rates were phenomenal for any religion anywhere in the world... (Laughs)...INTERVIEW ENDS

Appendix 6: Frequency of Results

Q1	What is your gender?	
	Count	Percentage
No Response	0	0.00%
Male	13	56.52%
Female	10	43.48%

Q2	Do you live in Dublin or the greater Dublin metropolitan area?	
	Count	Percentage
No Response	0	0.00%
Yes	23	100.00%
No	0	0.00%

Q3		What is your nationality?	
		Count	Percentage
No Response		0	0.00%
Irish		16	69.57%
Other		7	30.43%
Of “Other”	Israel	6	85.71%
	British	1	14.28%

Q4	What is your place of birth?	
	Count	Percentage
No Response	0	0.00%
Ireland	16	69.57%
U.K.	1	4.35%
Other	6	26.09%

Q5	Employment	
	Count	Percentage
No Response	2	8.70%
Employed	12	52.17%
Self Employed	0	0.00%
Unemployed	3	13.04%
Retired	3	13.04%
Student	3	13.04%

Q5(b)	State Occupation	
	Count	Percentage
No Response	5	21.74%
Responses	18	78.26%

(Open Question)

Respondent	
1	DIPLOMAT
2	No Response
3	STUDENT
4	DIPLOMAT
5	OFFICE MANAGER
6	ADVERTISING
7	RETIRED
8	No Response
9	No Response
10	No Response
11	No Response
12	DOCTOR
13	BANK OFFICIAL
14	PROOF READER
15	BROKER
16	TEACHER
17	STUDENT
18	STUDENT
19	STUDENT
20	SHOPKEEPER
21	BUSINESSMAN
22	HOUSEWIFE
23	HOUSEWIFE

Q6	What is your age group?	
	Count	Percentage
No Response	0	0.00%
15-21 years	3	13.04%
21-30 years	3	13.04%
31-40 years	3	13.04%
41-50 years	6	26.09%
51-60 years	2	8.70%
61-70 years	4	17.39%
70+ years	2	8.70%

Q7	Family. Do you live with?	
	Count	Percentage
No Response	0	0.00%
Your parents	4	17.39%
Your children	2	8.70%
Multi-generational family unit	6	26.09%
Friends	1	4.35%
Other relatives	0	0.00%
Partner / spouse (no children)	4	17.39%
Alone	6	26.09%

Q8	Religion: How do you see yourself?	
	Count	Percentage
No Response	0	0.00%
Orthodox Jewish	9	39.13%
Reform / Progressive Jewish	0	0.00%
Just Jewish	13	56.52%
Something else	1	4.35%
None of the above	0	0.00%

Q8b	Something else, please state	
	1	100%

Q9	How important is being Jewish in your life?	
	Count	Percentage
No Response	0	0.00%
The most important thing	1	4.35%
Very important	4	17.39%
Important	14	60.87%
Not too important	4	17.39%
Not at all important	0	0.00%

Q9(b)	Do you practice?*	
	Count	Percentage
No Response	9	39.13%
Yes	10	43.48%
No	2	8.70%
Sometimes	2	8.70%

*This was an open question but replies given were “Yes”, “No”, “Sometimes” which allowed statistical analysis.

Q10 **What is the most important aspect of being Jewish in Dublin?**

	Count	Percentage
No Response	3	13.04%
Response	20	86.96%
Open Question		

Respondent	
1	MY CONNECTION TO THE JEWISH STATE
2	KEEPING THE TRADITION ALIVE
3	No Response
4	No Response
5	KEEPING THE JEWISH CULTURE AND TRADITION, REMEMBERING WHERE YOU CAME FROM
6	RELIGIOUS HOLY DAYS
7	BEING IRISH
8	COMMUNITY
9	FRIENDS
10	No Response
11	COMMUNITY & FEELINGS OF ASSOCIATION WITH FRIENDS & ORGANISATIONS
12	BEING PART OF THE COMMUNITY
13	COMMUNITY
14	FAMILY & FRIENDS
15	TRADITION
16	FAMILY TIES
17	THE TRADITIONS
18	BEING PART OF A TRADITION
19	THE HISTORY IS IMPORTANT
20	BEING PART OF A BIG FAMILY
21	THE CULTURE
22	KEEPING THE TRADITIONS ALIVE
23	THE TRADITIONS ARE VERY IMPORTANT TO ME

Q11

of Dublin's Jewish community?

Count	Percentage
5	21.74%
18	78.26

Open Question

Respondent	
1	No Response
2	KEEPING KOSHER
3	NO CHALLENGES FOR ME
4	No Response
5	A BIT OLD, NOT STRONG, DOESN'T HAVE A STRONG EFFECT ON THE YOUNG GENERATION
6	LACK OF CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES
7	OTHER JEWS
8	DWINDLING NUMBERS
9	GETTING SMALLER
10	No Response
11	NONE REALLY
12	No Response
13	IT'S HARD TO GET KOSHER FOOD
14	IT'S AN OLD COMMUNITY
15	NONE REALLY, THIS IS CULTURAL RATHER THAN RELIGIOUS
16	IT'S A VERY SMALL COMMUNITY
17	IT'S A VERY SMALL GROUP, WE CAN'T REALLY EAT OUT
18	NO WHERE TO GO WITH FRIENDS TO EAT
19	WHEN MY FRIENDS AT COLLEGE GO OUT, IF I GO WITH THEM, I CAN'T EAT USUALLY
20	THE GROUP IS GETTING SMALLER
21	MANY FRIENDS HAVE MOVED AWAY
22	No Response
23	IT'S AN AGEING COMMUNITY

Q12	Is food an important part of your religious practice?	
	Count	Percentage
No Response	0	0.00%
Y	18	78.26%
N	5	21.74%

Q13

Please list the most important food practices in your opinion starting with the most important

	Count	Percentage
No Response	4	17.39%
Response	19	82.61%

Open Question

Respondant	
1	No Response
2	KEEPING KOSHER
3	KEEPING KOSHER AT PASSOVER
4	KEEPING KOSHER AT PASSOVER
5	EAT ISRAELI PRODUCTS / TRADITIONAL FOOD / KOSHER
6	PASSOVER PRODUCT/ EGGS/ CHALLAH/HOLIDAY FOOD/KOSHER
7	ALL EQUALLY IMPORTANT, IF YOU DO ONE YOU SHOULD DO THEM ALL
8	KEEPING KOSHER
9	No Response
10	No Response
11	No Response
12	SEDER
13	SEDER
14	CHALLAH, KEEPING KOSHER, SEDER
15	ALL EQUAL
16	KEEPING KOSHER
17	KEEP KOSHER, CHALLAH BREAD, SEDER
18	ALL OF THEM
19	KEEPING KOSHER, THE SEDER MEAL
20	KEEPING KOSHER, OBSERVING THE SEDER MEAL
21	CHOLENT, KEEPING KOSHER
22	KEEPING KOSHER, CHOLENT, SEDER MEAL
23	PASSOVER

Q14 **Eating at home: Who cooks your meals?**

	Count	Percentage
No Response	0	0.00%
Parents	3	13.04%
Partner/Spouse	4	17.39%
Other relative	0	0.00%
Shared chore	7	30.43%
You	9	39.13%
Friend		
Boyfriend/Girlfriend	0	0.00%
Someone else	0	0.00%

Q14(b) **If someone else, please state**

As 0 Count n/a

Q15 **Do you keep Kosher at home?**

	Count	Percentage
No		
Response	0	0.00%
Y	13	59.09%
N	9	40.91%

Q16	Shopping: Do you use any of the following? (please tick all that apply*)	
	Count	Percentage
Supermarkets (high street names)	21	91.30%
Local Butcher	3	13.04%
Local fishmonger	12	52.17%
Local greengrocer	10	43.48%
Local bakery	14	60.87%
Local general grocer	5	21.74%
Specialist Shop	7	30.43%
Delicatessen	4	17.39%
Specialist distributors	1	4.35%

***Respondents were asked to tick all that apply so percentage totals are >100%**

Q17	Do you find Kosher foods readily available?	
	Count	Percentage
No Response	0	0.00%
Yes	3	13.04%
No	16	69.57%
More than before	2	8.70%
Less than before	2	8.70%

Q18 **What are the most challenging aspects of keeping Kosher in the home?**

	Count	Percentage
No Response	2	8.70%
Response	21	91.30%
Open Question		

Respondant	
1	No Response
2	ONLY BUYING IN A SPECIFIC SHOP
3	HAVING TO DRIVE TO A SPECIFIC SUPERMARKET WHICH ISN'T NEARBY WHERE I LIVE
4	KOSHER SHOPS ARE TOO FAR AWAY
5	NONE AVAILABLE
6	NOT ENOUGH VARIETY OF PRODUCTS / SUPERVALU TOO FAR
7	COST
8	THE FOOD IS EXPENSIVE
9	NEED A GREATER VARIETY
10	No response
11	SOURCING THE FOODSTUFF
12	THE DISTANCES INVOLVED
13	TO KEEP REALLY KOSHER YOU NEED 2 KITCHENS. WE ONLY HAVE ONE. ALSO SUPERVALU IS NOT NEAR US.
14	THE COST AND INCONVENIENCE
15	IT'S TOO DIFFICULT & EXPENSIVE
16	COST AND I DON'T HAVE A CAR
17	IT'S VERY EXPENSIVE
18	VERY EXPENSIVE AND IT'S A LONG WAY OFF
19	VERY TIME CONSUMING FOR MY MUM
20	HIGH COSTS
21	POOR SELECTION AND PRICEY
22	HARD TO GET
23	CHURCHTOWN IS AWKWARD TO GET TO

**Would you be more likely to observe
kashrut rules if products were more easily
available?**

Q19

	Count	Percentage
No Response	3	13.04%
Yes	17	73.91%
No	2	8.70%
Not Sure	1	4.35%

**Do you have to adjust food choices to
suit availability in Dublin?**

Q20

	Count	Percentage
No Response	0	0.00%
Yes	10	43.48%
No	6	26.09%
Sometimes	7	30.43%

**Is it important to you to pass on your
food practices to the next generation?**

Q21

	Count	Percentage
No Response	0	0.00%
Yes	21	91.30%
No	2	8.70%

Q22	What would you hope for in the future regarding food practices in the Dublin Jewish community?	
	Count	Percentage
No Response	4	17.39%
Response	19	82.61
Open Question		

Respondent	
1	NOT MUCH FUTURE IN IT
2	MORE AVAILABILITY
3	No Response
4	No Response
5	I HOPE TO GET MORE SELECTION OF FOOD, KOSHER AND ISRAELI
6	No Response
7	THAT IT BECOMES EASIER
8	KOSHER RESTAURENT / COFFE SHOP
9	A GREATER VARIETY
10	No Response
11	MORE COMMUNITY MEALS, PERHAPS A KOSHER RESTAURANT IN DUBLIN
12	A WIDER AVAILABILITY
13	BETTER SELECTION
14	IF SUPERVALU DELIVERED
15	MORE JEWS TO BRING MORE JEWISH FOOD
16	MAYBE A KOSHER CAFÉ ?
17	BETTER SELECTION & MORE SHOPS
18	A KOSHER FOOD HALL OR CAFÉ
19	SOMEWHERE TO EAT OUT
20	IMPROVED BUS SERVICE TO THE SHOP
21	A FEW MORE SHOPS!
22	BETTER SELECTION
23	MORE SHOPS

Appendix 7: Glossary of Terms

Ashkenazi	Traditionally: Eastern European Jews (Poland, The Baltic States, Russia, Czech Rep. Slovakia etc.).
Aliyah	A Hebrew word meaning ‘ascent’. It refers to the return of the diaspora to Israel. There have been many different aliyah over the years. When Jews return they are said to have ‘made aliyah’.
Bar-Mitzvah	Coming of age rite of passage ceremony for Jewish boys aged 13.
Bat-Mitzvah	Coming of age rite of passage ceremony for Jewish girls aged 12.
Beth Din	Ecclesiastical Court.
Cantor	Clergy member junior to rabbi, musical specialist.
Challah	Traditional round or plaited bread, used on some religious festivals.
Cholent	Traditional Sabbath meal, slow-cooked on previous day, reheated for consumption on Sabbath
Diaspora	Jews who live outside of Israel (Judaea in ancient times).
Eruv	A ritual enclosure surrounding either a Jewish dwelling or an entire community.
Exodus	The Wandering of the Jews after the destruction of the temple of Solomon (68 CE).
Goy, Goyim	Gentile(s).
Halakha	Jewish Law.
Hebrew Language	The language of Modern day and ancient Israel used by all Jews for religious rites.
Hebrew	Informally, a Jewish Person.
Hechsher	A certificate of approval/authenticity denoting Kosher food
Jew	One of the Jewish faith.
Jewish Bible	The first five books of the bible. (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy).
Judaism	The whole Canon of Jewish life and culture
Kashruth	Fit (permitted) under Jewish law.

Keddassia	Umbrella group of religious authorities (UK & Ireland).
Kibbutz	Collective farm in Israel.
Kibbutzniks	People who work and live on the collective farms.
Kosher	Fit (Permitted under) Jewish law.
Menorah	Eight branched candelabra used during Chanukah.
Mitzvot	Individual Jewish Laws: 613 in total.
Mosaic Law	The written and oral tradition of rules given by God to Moses.
Pentateuch	The first five books of the bible (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy).
Pareve	Neutral foods that can be eaten with EITHER meat or dairy. Grains vegetables, fruits and eggs are in this category.
Pogrom	Violent riot (often fatal) carried out against Jews.
Rabbi	Jewish equivalent of priest (married).
Rabbinical Law	The collective canon of Jewish laws.
Rav	Rabbi.
Rebbizin	Rabbi's wife.
Seder	The traditional meal that begins the Passover festivities.
Sephardic	Traditionally: Mediterranean, Greek, and North African Jews.
Shabbos Goy	Sabbath Gentile, a friend who performs tasks forbidden to the observant on the Sabbath.
Shohet/Shochet	Certified Kosher butcher
Shohatim	Certified Kosher butcher / slaughterer
Shul	Synagogue
Talmud	Ancient Jewish Text giving instruction. Second in importance to The Torah.
Torah	Ancient Jewish Text giving instruction. The first five books of the bible (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy).
Trefa	Broadly, those foods not permitted by Rabbinical law (authority is derived from the <i>Torah</i>).
Yahweh	Hebrew word meaning God.
Yarmulke	Jewish Skull-Cap.

Yiddish

A Jewish language; originating in Eastern Europe amongst the Ashkenazi Jews, spoken by mostly Orthodox Jews. Germanic in origin.

Branches of Judaism**Orthodox Jews**

- Hareidi
- Modern orthodox Judaism
- Hasidic

Reformed Jews

- Liberal Judaism
- Progressive Judaism

Conservative Jews

- Masorti